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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this descriptive study was to ascertain key characteristics of the nanny industry in the United States by surveying a representative sample of nanny agencies across the country. A total of 24 agencies that place in-home care providers, or nannies, with client families were surveyed through a telephone interview method. Data collected concerned descriptive characteristics of agencies, of families for whom they find care, of nannies whom the agencies employ, and of nanny-family-agency relationships. Also collected were data on differences in fees and salaries offered by agencies and the educational background of agency counselors making nanny placements. Results are discussed in the context of quality child care. When applicable, recommendations concerning areas of the nanny industry are offered. Findings suggest that, in America at least, most people do not take elaborate efforts to obtain detailed information when they choose a nanny. The study includes an introduction, literature review, description of methodology, results and discussion, conclusions, a list of references consisting of 83 citations, and the survey instrument. (RH)

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Abstract

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America's Nannies:

In-Home Child Care Specialists?

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6. Working Parents

Twenty-four agencies placing in-home care providers (nannies) with client families were surveyed utilizing a telephone interview method. Data collected included information regarding descriptive characteristics of such agencies, descriptive characteristics of the families for

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whom they find care, descriptive characteristics of the nannies whom such agencies employ, descriptive characteristics of nanny-family-agency relationships, differences in fees and salaries offered through and by such agencies, and the educational background of agency counselors making nanny placements. Results were discussed in the context of quality child care, and as applicable, areas of the nanny industry in need of address are offered.

Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES i

I. INTRODUCTION 1

Statement of the Problem 5

Research Questions. 6

Significance of the Study 7

Assumptions 7

Limitations 8

Definition of Terms 8

The Gender Issue 11

Summary of Format 11

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE. 12

Women in the Labor Force. 13

Child Care in the Home 14

The Quest for Quality Care. 16

Other Live-In Options 18

Demand for Nannies per se 21

Profile of the Employing Family 23

Profile of the Nannies. 25

Nanny Education and Training. 28
Wages in the Industry 32
The Nanny Agency 36
Agency Profits 42
Finding and Recruiting Nannies. 44
Job Expectations 46
Good Nannying 47

III. METHODOLOGY 51
Study Population. 51
Instrument. 51
Research Design 52
Data Collection Methods 53
Data Analysis 55
Pilot Study 55
Limtations 55
Justification of the Method 56

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION. 60
Introduction. 60
Research Question One 61
Research Question Two 68
Research Question Three 79

Research Question Four 92
Research Question Five 98
Research Question Six 103
Limitations 105
Modal Response Categories 106
Discussion 108

V. CONCLUSION 110
The Victorian Model 110
Au Pair Concerns. 113
Curricular Concerns 114
Professional Considerations 120
Agency Issues 129
Nanny Wages 131
Gender Issues 132
Other Ethical Issues. 134
Conclusion 138

REFERENCES 140

APPENDIX 153

List of Tables

Table		Page
1.	Agency Age by Geographical Region	.63
2.	Care Provided by Geographical Region	.65
3.	Placements Made in 1988 by Geographical Region	.67
4.	1988 Placements Compared to 1987 by Geographical Region	.69
5.	Client Family Income by Geographical Region	.71
6.	Client Family Size by Geographical Region	.72
7.	Age Requests by Geographical Region	.74
8.	Initial Contact to Agency by Sex of Parent and Geographical Region	.76
9.	Number of Parents in the Home by Geographical Region	.77
10.	Parental Employment by Geographical Region	.79
11.	Recruitment Methods by Geographical Region	.82
12.	The Hiring of Midwestern Nannies by Geographical Region	.84
13.	Nanny Age by Geographical Region	.85

14. Number and Type of References Required by Geographical Region. 88

15. Minimum Age Required of Nanny by Geographical Region. 90

16. Educational and Experiential Requirements of Nannies by Geographical Region. 92

17. Type of Nanny-Agency Interview by Geographical Region. 95

18. Agency Contact With Nanny Once Placed by Geographical Region 98

19. Placement Fees by Geographical Region 101

20. Nanny Salaries by Geographical Region 104

Chapter I

Being a nation of consumers, Americans are, by tradition, accustomed to choice and variety in the marketplace. Our free enterprise system has insured this--by allowing those who wish to do so to set up and enter trade markets freely.

Among the goods and services now being consumed are care options for children of working parents. According to researchers in the field, the availability of such services is crucial--affecting not only employment behavior per se, but fertility decision-making and fertility rates as well (Hofferth, S. L. & Phillips, D. A., 1987).

Most current estimates indicate demand for child care far exceeding the supply available. In 1985, 10.5 million children under age six had the primary caregiver (mother, in this case) employed outside the home. The number of children in this situation was expected to reach 13.3 million, or 58% of children under six, by 1990 (Hofferth, S. L. & Phillips, D. A., 1987). This stands in contrast to the only one million licensed day care openings which were available in 1984 (Langway, 1984), and a similar ratio in existence today.

Despite such shortage of care, however, parents remain adamant about their employment decision. For some, intrinsic rewards are a factor. For women in particular, these include such things as mental stimulation, the chance to be self-reliant, and/or the chance for interaction with peers and colleagues (Thomson, 1980). For others, the perception that their employment has a positive effect on their children may also play a role.

Indeed, in a nationwide survey of working parents conducted in 1986, most parents indicated they were convinced that children of dual-career couples are more independent, more socially adept, and have interesting role models for parents as a result of the parent's employment (Chapman, 1987).

And yet regardless of reason for working, most parents agree they would be more satisfied with the employment decision if more quality care was available. Indeed, asserts Edward Zigler of Yale University, "When parents buy child care, they are not just buying a service that permits them to go to work. They are buying an environment that determines the development of the child" (Chapman, 1987, p. 37).

Because the family has been, traditionally, the environment for childrearing, forms of care which approximate this situation most closely have been, and continue to be, popular. Such an idea is at least partially substantiated by research, as some studies indicate the best child care arrangements are those which can most closely simulate the mother-child relationship (Chapman, 1987). These arrangements include not only family day care homes, but also babysitters and nannies who come to the home.

Rooted in history, a "nanny" or "mother substitute" has long been a popular focus of childhood memoirs. Winston Churchill, for example, recalls of his beloved Mrs. Everest, "(She) was my confidante" (Reed, 1985). And for Sigmund Freud, the deep love he felt for his nursemaid (and the anquish he experienced when she died) apparently led to a profound change in his life--and subsequent obsession with oedipal issues (Hardin, 1987).

Today, however, what is emerging is a "new career" for such specialists (Desperately Seeking Nanny, 1986). In America, those who come to the home to provide care are both similar to, and different from, the legacy of "nannies" past.

Like other forms of child care, there is no one connecting link which ascertains the emergence of nannies in the United States. And indeed, as noted by Pence (1987), a "quest for the first . . . worker from which all others have descended would prove fruitless".

Today, a 'nanny' in the United States might best be described as the "person who, with training in the appropriate child care skills (or lack of such) and knowledge of developmental stages (or lack of such), is employed to provide individualized care of a child or children in the child's home" (adapted from Fleming, 1987).

Thousands of individuals are currently employed as nannies in the United States. Many have obtained their employment through an agency which contracts directly with the nanny or facilitates a contract set-up with a client family. Nannies in America also obtain employment in other ways, such as through personal advertisements and private contacts.

A quick review of the literature, however, reveals little, if any, available data regarding the subject. Indeed, in America, little information has been recorded

about nannies or the nanny industry overall. Thus, the need for this investigation.

Because of the mass numbers of nannies currently hired through private agencies, a decision was made to obtain data for the study through such agencies. Doing so allowed access to information unavailable through other means.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of the study was to ascertain key characteristics of the nanny industry in America, as described by a representational sample of nanny agencies from across the country. The nanny industry was defined as inclusive of agencies which hire and/or place nannies, the employees of such agencies, those persons who are employed as nannies, and the families for whom such nannies work. 'Nanny agency' was defined as a business which hires and/or places nannies, and for whom doing so generates an income. A nanny was defined as a person who, with training in the appropriate child care skills (or lack of such) and knowledge of developmental stages (or lack of such), is employed

to provide individualized care of a child or children in the child's home.

Research Questions

The first research question was to ascertain differences in key characteristics of agencies which place nannies in the United States.

The second research question was to ascertain differences in key characteristics of the families which employ nannies in the United States.

The third research question was to ascertain differences in key characteristics of those employed as nannies in the United States.

The fourth research question was to ascertain differences in the nanny-family-agency relationship.

The fifth research question was to ascertain differences in the fees and salaries offered by and through nanny agencies in the United States.

The sixth research question was to ascertain the educational background of nanny placement counselors.

Significance of the Study

This study was conducted in an effort to enhance information currently available in the popular and academic press. It should be of value to educators, businesses, nannies, and others involved in the industry. It should also be of value to the general public for informational and educational purposes. Because the study is descriptive in nature, its purpose is to provide information rather than draw conclusions. The reader is reminded to make interpretations accordingly.

Assumptions

It was assumed that the questionnaire developed for this study was both statistically valid and reliable, as applied to the interview method. It was also assumed that respondents understood the meaning of survey questions, and construed each item in a similar fashion. It was assumed that respondents answered all questions honestly and to the best of their ability, and that respondents had similar perceptions of percentage answers. It was also assumed that data obtained from agencies sampled was representative of data which would have been

obtained from a larger population.

Limitations

The data obtained from this investigation and the interpretation of such data is limited by the reliability of the interview method in general. As such, results are expected to have a larger margin of error than data obtained via other methods. Reasons for this include the investigator's lack of control over items inherent in the study, such as voice inflection, item pacing, and clarity of address.

Definition of Terms

Au Pair. A person hired to care for a child or children under the auspices of the American au pair program.

Caregiver. A person who assumes responsibility for the care of another, particularly a child.

Child-Minder. Any person who comes to a child's home to care for that child, whether or not he/she is related to the child, and irregardless of whether or not he/she is paid for so doing.

Client Family. A family which is the employer or potential employer of a nanny hired through an agency.

Full-time, Live-in Care. A situation in which a caregiver resides with the family in the family's home, and provides child care on a full-time basis.

Full-time, Live Out Care. A situation in which a caregiver does not reside with the family in the home, yet comes to the home to provide care on a full-time basis.

In-Home Child Care. Care provided for children in a home environment, generally assumed not to refer to the home environment of the child for whom care is provided.

In-Home Child Care Specialist. A person with training in appropriate child care skills and knowledge of developmental stages employed to provide individualized care of a child or children in the child's home.

In-Home Provider. A person who provides care for a child or children in the caregiver's home in exchange for a fee.

Nanny. The person who, with or without training in the appropriate child care skills (or lack of such) and knowledge of developmental stages (or lack of such), is employed to provide individualized care of a child or children in the child's home.

Nanny Agency. Any place of business which routinely hires and/or places persons defined as nannies, and for whom doing so generates an income.

Parent. Any adult who has assumed responsibility for a child's physical, psychological, emotional and educational nurturance, as well as for that child's proper protection.

Part-time, Live-in Care. A situation in which a caregiver resides with the family in the family's home, and provides child care on a part-time basis.

Part-time, Live Out Care. A situation in which a caregiver does not reside with the family in the home, yet comes to the home to provide care on a part-time basis.

The Gender Issue

Both past and present literature addressing the care of young children is saturated by references to females only. This inherent gender bias is so commonplace that it has seemingly gone unnoticed by even the most liberal of writers.

An attempt has been made herein to initiate gender-free discussion of the child care field in general, and the nanny industry in specific. Any reference specifically not referred to in such a manner is not to be construed as an endorsement of a female-only profession.

Furthermore, the author would like to go on record as acknowledging the nurturing capabilities of all persons, unrelated to gender.

Summary

Chapter I has been an introduction to the study. Chapter II includes a review of related research and literature. Chapter III details research methodology employed in the study. Chapter IV presents findings of the study in narrative and statistical format. Chapter V concludes the study with issues raised from the investigation and recommendations for further research.

Chapter II

Review of the Literature

The concept of a literature review for the nanny industry presupposes a history of nannying in time and space. Certainly insofar as nannying is related to the care of the child its home environment, most would agree that the field has been well-researched. Anthropologists have long been studying the living arrangements and subsequent movement patterns of earlier times, and facets of family life before British industrialization have certainly been scrutinized from every angle.

It is with the emergence, however, of a distinct class structure in 19th century England that the nanny as referred to today seems to originate (Caughron, 1986). This gave rise to a movement in Britain in which nannying has become an entity in and of itself.

It is beyond the scope of this paper, however, to review the writings of British industry, and thus what follows is a review of the literature as it relates to nannying today. That is, what is relevant to post-World War II, in-home child care specialists in the United States of America?

Women in the Labor Force

In America, where child care has generally, if perhaps unfairly, been assumed to be the mother's responsibility, statisticians have been monitoring the labor force participation rates of females for the last couple decades. From such information, researchers draw conclusions about both the need for caregiving arrangements, and the kind of care desired.

According to one source, 65% of mothers with children under age 18 now work outside the home. This contrasts sharply with just a decade ago, when, in 1975, the rate was 47% (Zweig, 1989). Mothers with children who are preschoolers participate at a rate of 54%, up 35% from 1960 (Floge, 1989). Translated numerically, this is in excess of seven million mothers of preschoolers (Reed, 1985).

For mothers of infants, the rates are almost as high. According to the International Nanny Association, 52% of all working mothers have a child under one year of age and must rely on some form of child care (Massaro, 1988). Similarly, of all mothers of children under age one, nearly half are employed (Chapman, 1987).

Child Care in the Home

Of the working mothers referenced above, approximately 35% use "child-minders", someone hired to look after the children in the families' own home Minding the baby, 1988). For families with at least one child under age five, in-home care is used in at least 30.5% of cases. In many of these situations, however, the caregiver is related to the child (Readdick, 1987).

According to estimates by the Boston-based Work/ Family Directions, only about 5.5% of employed mothers of preschool children hire someone other than a relative to care for the children at home. However, they estimate, another 20% would like to (Desperately Seeking Nanny, 1986).

Thus, it would be fair to assume that child care in the home has distinct advantages that, at least for some, make it the preferrable choice. "According to those in the business," says Laura Fries (1987), "the advantage of a nanny over day care is the individual attention the children can receive and the security of staying at home" (p. 14).

Others say that nannies are most advantageous because of their flexible schedules. Parents who travel

or work irregular hours are "spared from meeting the schedules of day care homes and centers" (Barko, 1985, p. 35).

Indeed, in a survey commissioned by Fortune magazine, of 400 mothers and fathers surveyed, 61% worried that children were rushed to conform to parents' schedules (Chapman, 1987). With a nanny, Chapman writes, "parents do not have to bundle baby up and schlep halfway across town at dawn" (p. 32).

Care while children are sick is another advantage of in-home providers. It has been estimated that working parents lose an average of 5.4 working days a year because of their children's illnesses (Massaro, 1988). This number is likely due to the refusal of day care centers and family homes to care for ill children, for both practical and legal reasons. Thus, for parents who regularly rely on such care, the words "I don't feel good" can, as one author put it, become "the most upsetting four words in a toddler's vocabulary" (Chapman, 1987, pp. 32-33). In-home providers, on the other hand, will usually care for the child no matter how sick, and may even be trained in nursing practices as well (Rice, 1987).

One of the major disadvantages of in-home care,

however, is its high cost "relative to other forms of care" (Desperately Seeking Nanny, 1986, p.64). However, according to the same source, "it becomes more competitive if you have two or more children" (p. 64). This is because in-home providers tend to be paid a flat weekly fee which is not usually related to the number of children in the employing family.

Other disadvantages of in-home care can include loss of privacy for both parties, lack of supervision over the nanny's actual work, and the need for greater personal involvement on the part of the family (Binswanger, 1986; Rice, 1987). Such families must take a more active role than those dropping children off elsewhere, because at home, they alone set the precedent for what is to occur. This includes establishing everything from routines to structure--to even rules about the employee's personal life.

The Quest for Quality Care

Yet another reason in-home care may be preferred by some is the direct control a family can have over quality of care provided. Recent publicity about abuse in centers and fear about how these children will turn

out has raised the question of whether or not group care is optimal for children (Chapman, 1987). Additionally, long waiting lists and wide variations in quality (to which parents may be oblivious), have also put group settings under scrutiny (Levine, A., 1987).

In particular, the question of group care for infants has received much press. According to child developmentalist Sandra Scarr, what babies need is "social interaction with caring, attentive adults" (1984, p. 17). The fear for many is that infants cannot and will not receive such attention in a group situation.

In a 1983 Detroit study, 122 infants were compared to help ascertain the effect of group care. Infants in the study were in one of the following care situations: at home with their mothers, at home with babysitters, outside the home with babysitters, or in a group day care setting. Results found no significant differences between infants being raised by their mothers or with sitters, but did find differences between such infants and those cared for in a group situation. Such babies were found to be more apathetic, less attentive, and less responsive and verbal than the others. Additionally, this particular study found that those who spent

the most hours in day care situations were also the least well-adjusted (Chapman, 1987).

Concern over infants in day care is also echoed by Jay Belsky, professor of human development at Pennsylvania State University, and an expert in the field. According to Belsky, infants placed in such situations run the risk of developmental difficulties. They are likely to become insecure and aggressive, and may have problems in school later on (Chapman, 1987; Levine, A., 1987).

Other Live-In Options

Parents seeking to have live-in help with child care have at least two options other than employing a nanny. One is to hire an au pair, who is generally a foreign student, that will come to the United States and provide child care while living "on a par" with the host family-- hence the name (Cary, 1988). A second option for families is to employ an alien worker. As with nannies as well, this can be (and presumably is) done both legally and illegally.

An au pair is likely to be a female, English

speaker with little formal training in child care (Zweig, 1989). In exchange for 30 hours a week of care, he/she will receive $100 per week in "wages", up to $300 in tuition subsidies, and a free flight from New York to the host family's location (Cary, 1988; Zweig, 1989).

In return, host families pay a sponsoring organization approximately $3000 up front to be matched with such a worker (Zweig, 1989). Additionally, such families must provide references from such sources as employers, banks, ministers, and friends, and are interviewed at length in their home by agency counselors before being accepted into the program (Paris, 1986).

Two organizations are currently authorized to bring au pairs to the United States: The American Institute for Foreign Study, and The Experiment in International Living (Moskowitz, 1987; Paris, 1986; Zweig, 1989). Both received the go-ahead in 1986, when the United States Information Agency determined such programs would reasonably fall under the category of 'cultural exchange'. Presumably, the idea was also implemented to "help relieve the nanny shortage" (Cary,

1988, p. 21).

And, whether due to a nanny shortage or not, the program has certainly turned out to be popular. By November of 1987, the two organizations combined had received over 40,000 requests for information from potential host families (Who killed Mary, 1987). Additionally, it is estimated that at least three families apply for every one au pair available (Zweig, 1989).

Financially, the program has turned out to be a success as well. Although a nonprofit organization, the American Institute for Foreign Study earned $1.3 million dollars in 1985 on revenues of $38 million, and, by 1986 enjoyed a market value of $27 million. Perhaps not surprisingly, 23% of the company is owned by its founder, entrepreneur Roger Walther, who formerly was a brand manager for Proctor and Gamble (Paris, 1986).

A second option for parents wanting in-home care is to employ an alien worker, someone who is not a citizen of the United States. In order to live and work here legally, such persons must obtain a permanent resident visa (known as a green card), and must also prove that there are no qualified citizens to take the job

(Ehrlich, 1987; McManus, 1987). Getting a green card can take an average of two years, and may cost $15,000 or more in legal fees (McManus, 1987). However, the fine is $2,000 for hiring an alien without one. Additionally, parents who employ an illegal alien may also be held liable for past taxes as well (Ehrlich, 1987).

Thus, although according to the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, it is "unlawful to knowingly hire, recruit, or refer for a fee an alien who is not authorized to work" (Rice, 1987, p. 28), it is certainly easy to see why it happens. Along with the cost and time involved in obtaining a green card is the fact that the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service "only issues about 270,000 resident visas per year--and domestic help--or lowest priority...--gets only about 10% of these" (McManus, 1987, p. 40).

Demand for Nannies per se

For those families, then, not going the au pair or alien worker route, how easy is it for them to find a nanny if desired? Not very, according to most sources. And if a trained nanny is wanted, the likelihood is even

smaller.

According to the International Nanny Association, there are about 70,000 to 90,000 job requests for in-home care in the U.S. each year (Massaro, 1988). And, according to another source, for every nanny, there are at least five applicant families (Zweig, 1989).

Demand for nannies seems to be great no matter where in the country you look. At the Northwest Nannies Institute in Portland, there are as many as ten jobs open for every (trained) graduate, and the biggest problem faced by the school is its "inability to keep up with demand" (Gordon, 1986, p. 24).

Likewise, training programs in the Midwest face similar situations. In a nanny training course started at the Red Wing Technical Institute in Red Wing, Minnesota, estimates were made that, in 1988, "for every graduate, there could be 100 jobs waiting" (McAuliffe, 1988, p. 1B). (The reason this estimate is greater than the Portland figure is unclear).

And in a survey conducted by staff planning a nanny curriculum at Moraine Park Technical Institute in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, it was determined 3790 trained graduates could be placed in 1987 alone, while in 1988,

the number would rise to at least 4445 (Fleming, 1987).

Similarly, in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, there were at least 475 openings for nannies in 1987, and that need was expected to triple in the following three years (McAuliffe, 1988).

And even in Canada, a nanny agency representative was found to lament, "If I have a good nanny today, I also have five or six families to send her to. Some people have to wait two or three months for help" (Berton, 1986, p. 56).

The use of advertising, apparently, only aggrevates the problem. According to one nanny in New York City, the demand is so great that "if you put an ad in the paper (as a nanny) you'll be sorry. You get a hundred calls at all hours of the night" (Geist, 1985, p. 54). Similarly, advertisements for nannies comprised 12% of the total classified ads for one region in Montana over a three-month period in 1987 (Neff, 1988).

Profile of the Employing Family

So who exactly is it in such hot pursuit of nannies? Well, according to one agency in Atlanta, the

typical client is an upper-middle class, two-career couple in their 30's (Day-care Dilemma?, 1985). And based on the 1987 survey commissioned by Fortune magazine, we would expect more of such couples to be parents of infants than not. Finding child care was reported to be difficult by one in three parents of infants, as opposed to one in four parents of three-to-five-year-olds (Chapman, 1987).

Additionally, while "employers needs are idiosyncratic" (Brown, 1986), many sources cite the desire on the part of the family to employ a nanny from the Midwest. According to one agency owner, this desire results from a perceptions, as much as anything. "People think nannies from the Midwest are going to be more wholesome, more drug-free, and more conservative" (McAuliffe, 1988, p. 7B).

However, according to a representative from another agency, there may be some substance behind that perception. Regarding people from the Midwest, she states:

> Their values and their principles are strong . . . they tend to have been raised in a close-knit family environment. They usually come from a strong religious background and are usually one of several siblings. It is a very good profile for this kind of work. (Sharlene Martin in Mining for Nannies, 1986, p.62).

Profile of the Nannies

The Midwest seems to be a predominant theme when you ask employers and agencies to describe the typical nanny as well. "Most are in their late teens or early 20's, aren't sure of their career plans, and are looking for an opportunity to see something of the world. And they're from the Midwest" (McAuliffe, 1988). According to the same source, it is estimated that 1000 or more people leave Minnesota alone to work as nannies each year.

Most of today's professionally-trained nannies are from middle-class backgrounds (Binswanger, 1986), and many have had previous experience as preschool teachers, nurse's aides, or practical nurses (Barko,

1985). This is likely in contrast to untrained nannies, who are not assumed to have such experience.

Many people working as nannies tend to be in their early twenties (Desperately seeking nanny, 1986), which is also the case for those entering nanny training programs, such as NANI in Denver (McManus, 1987). However, the industry is not without employed nannies age 55 and older. Those who become nannies for good tend to be older at the outset (McManus, 1987), and "the experience and stability of the 55 and up employee are particularly valued" (Roth, 1987).

And why have nannies chosen their profession? Presumably, like for all other occupations, the reasons vary, but among the most commonly cited is the flexibility of the work. According to one nanny, "whenever the baby's awake, I'm out . . . (of the house)" (Harkness, 1987).

Among other reasons cited are the chance for one-on-one interaction, and the constant stimulation and creativity offered by the job. According to one nanny who had previously worked in a day care center, what she disliked most about her previous job was the assembly-line approach (to child care). And, says another,

"accounting was boring. I can't imagine babies ever being boring" (Reed, 1985, p.77).

And yes, there are male nannies as well. Such men have begun to receive their own nomenclature--"manny is the term that is somtimes used for a male nanny" (Dailey, A. L., O'Shell, W., Bartok, L., & Bartok, F., 1986, p. 18). The Northwest Nannies Institute, for example, has placed at least one man, who went to work for a New York family (Gordon, 1986). However, according to one agency, "clients rarely request a man" (Day-care dilemma?, 1985).

This lack of requests is at least in part due to the bad reputation men have received within the child care profession in general. According to Robinson (1988), men "have traditionally been valued for being aggressive, rugged, and competitive" (p. 56). Working with children, however, does not seem to be a way in which males can and/or do endorse this image.

In fact, when Robinson studied 20 male child care workers, he found their personalities to be more "feminine" than those of 20 male engineers. Similarly, he found unique qualities in all of them which set them apart from the others. Unlike more stereotyped males, these men reportedly chose their jobs "not because of

money, prestige, or power but because of altruistic concerns and the nature of the work" (Robinson, 1988, p. 55).

Nanny Education and Training

Formal training and education for nannies is relatively new in this country (Zweig, 1989), as is debate over what such programs should contain. Opinions vary widely, and are about as diverse as the fields from which nannying has emerged.

At least some in the field feel a distinction should be made between a 'training' and an 'educational' program. According to Bassett (1987), there is an important difference between the two. Training, she asserts, limits one's perspective to the task, rather than encompassing the preparation in a more global perspective.

In order to further clarify the difference, one can examine the meaning of the two words. 'Training', is defined as "education; instruction and practice" whereas 'education' means " . . . training and developing . . . the knowledge, skill, mind . . . especially by formal schooling " (Webster, 1983, p. 1936, 576). From

these definitions, we have somehow arrived at two concepts: that of a training mode, which supposedly takes a more technical approach, and that of an educational mode, which is to be more cognitive in orientation.

Such distinctions may be useless, however, since programs at what are considered "trade" schools, i.e. vo-techs, may likely be more 'cognitive' in approach than many of the private programs-- which, although billed as 'schools' and 'institutes' have yet to be accredited as institutions of higher learning.

In an effort to standardize nanny preparatory programs in this country, a group called the American Council of Nanny Schools was formed in 1984. By the following July, ACNS had named 12 institutions to its accreditation list, a distinction achieved only through rigorous examination of course content and requirements (Readdick, 1987).

Of the original 12, at least nine were/are private businesses, while two were degree-granting institutions. And as of 1988, still only about five of the growing number of programs carried an academic degree (McAuliffe, 1988). Readdick (1987), however, maintains that "regardless of sponsorship, the philosophy and

and goals of the . . . schools are in harmony" (1987, p. 74).

Yet it is important to point out that while in harmony, the approach of such programs may yet be quite different. At a degree-granting institution, faculty would more likely be versed in educational methods, including curricular frameworks. As such, goals might incorporate not just the transmission of technical knowledge, but its transmission within a framework which assists students "in the development of critical thinking skills, problem-solving abilities, and . . . carrying out responsible action in society" (Jax, 1986, p. 108).

Regardless of concensus on philosophy, however, nearly all of the literature on both child care and nannying agrees on the benefit of some type of formal preparation. Indeed, according to Sandra Scarr, caregiver training is one of the most essential elements of quality care. Training, according to Scarr, helps the caregiver: 1) know the nature of the child; 2) understand normal individual variations among children; 3) know each child's "unique constellation" of characteristics; and 4) feel more confident in dealing children (Scarr, 1984).

This view is evidenced by results found in a study of 67 day care centers located in Atlanta, Detroit, and Seattle. Of all caregivers studied, those with training in child development or early childhood education interacted more with children, and did so more constructively, than those without such training.

Additionally, those with more training were more likely to praise, comfort, respond, instruct, and question children than those with less training. And interestingly, results were not related to the amount of formal education per se, but rather the amount of education in child development and related topics (Ruopp, R. R. & Travers, J., 1982).

Luckily, child development is included in just about every nanny training program in existence today. Also likely to be found in a typical curriculum are such courses as health, safety & first aid, creative play/activities, nutrition, family structures, and some sort of course in personal growth. Found less often, but still frequently, are such courses as guidance and discipline, the exceptional/atypical child, and etiquette and/or homemaking skills (Readdick, 1987).

Courses for nanny training vary in length from

four to 30 weeks, and may charge anything from nominal fees to a hefty tuition. According to McManus (1987), the course at the National Academy of Nannies, Inc. (NANI) in Denver is the longest (30 weeks) and the most expensive ($3075). Of accredited programs, however, average length is about 8-15 weeks. This includes a minimum of 200 required classroom hours, and 50 required hours of supervised child care experience (Brown, 1986).

Wages in the Industry

To the employing family, as noted earlier, a nanny often costs significantly more than other child care options. This can be "anywhere from $125 to $200 a week . . . whereas child care is about $45 to $75 a child a week (Fries, 1987). This amount depends in part on the amount of experience the nanny has had, and also on conditions of the particular job. These conditions include such things as the amount of extra duties involved (such as housework or caring for children with special needs), and/or the geographical region in which the employing family lives.

In data collected by Brown (1986), salaries for

live-in help ranged highest in New York City, Suburban New York, and Washington D.C. Weekly wages for nannies in those areas went as high as $350 per week. Weekly wages for nannies living outside the home also ranged highest in New York City, going to $400.

The lowest starting salaries according to Brown were found in North Carolina and Phoenix, as well as, ironically, New York City and Suburban New York. Rates for these areas began at $150 per week, live-in. The lowest live-out salary was also in North Carolina, where weekly nanny fees started at $150. One should note, however, that these rates are based on estimates made by agencies in 11 states, and as such, may not include families paying "off-the-books" in either direction.

Special qualifications often result in higher wages for a nanny. In some cities, these include such things as "fluency in English, a sizable number of excellent references, and/or a driver's license" (Brown, 1986, p. 141).

Training and/or education, as you might expect, also merits higher pay for a nanny. Among the most highly paid seem to be nannies from the Original Nannies

School in Atlanta. "Nannies from this school receive some of the highest salaries in the country, about nineteen hundred dollars a month" (Binswanger, 1986, p. 43). (Training aside, other reasons for the wages were not cited.)

And at NANI in Denver, "most contracts call for starting pay of between $1200 and $1500 a month ($14,000 to $18,000 a year), plus room and board, worker's compensation, medical insurance--and, in some cases, access to the family car" (McManus, 1987).

One catch, however, in what sounds like a rosy financial picture for these child care workers is the fact that such figures are usually quoted as lump sums. If you divide the quoted amount, i.e. $200 per week, by actual number of hours worked (which is usually over 40), the hourly wage becomes $4.00/hour at 50 hours per week-- and barely over $3.00/hour at 60. Thus, to say that "trained nannies can earn double the money of day-care workers" (Binswanger, 1986, p. 43), is perhaps misleading.

In every state, the employing family is required to provide workers' compensation insurance, which usually amounts to a "few hundred dollars a year"

(Brown, 1986, p. 142). Other forms of insurance compensation seem to be less commonly found, probably by virtue of cost.

Automobile insurance, for example, though highly recommended, may increase when families add a nanny as driver. This is due to the young age of most employees, and the nanny's relative lack of driving experience (Desperately Seeking Nanny, 1986).

Similarly, health insurance for a single policy can cost as much as $1500 a year, depending, again, on the specifics of the employee (Desperately Seeking Nanny, 1986). Perhaps this is why many families "avoid the issue" or "skirt (around it by) . . . saying they will personally cover any potential medical bills" (Binswanger, 1986, p. 135). Doing so, however, leaves them at financial risk for all kinds of in-home emergencies, and for more major disasters like car accidents or fires.

Also a question is the issue of sick time for the nanny. Although not often referenced in the literature, most writers advocated its inclusion in the nanny's work contract (Binswanger, 1986; Rice, 1987). At least one placement agency covers sick days in its policy by

an arrangement where, for an additional $150 a year, it it will guarantee a replacement for the family if their nanny calls in sick (Desperately Seeking Nanny, 1986).

The Nanny Agency

Nanny agencies--those businesses which attempt to bring nannies and families together--are just now begining to invade the market. "This growing industry," according to Janice Abbott of Canada, "is characterized by (businesses) run mostly by women who work out of their homes" (1986, p.89).

Perhaps because of this cottage nature, such firms can be difficult to track down. Finding them in the telephone book, for example, can be a challenge--as "often they are lumped together with day care center or nursery school listings . . ." (McManus, 1987, p. 40).

Using a licensed agency, however, seems to help a family become sucessful in both finding and keeping a nanny (Sweet, 1987). Part of the reason for this, according to Sweet, is that agencies are able to "use recruitment methods that would be too expensive for individual(s) . . ." (p. 34). These methods allow agencies

to come in contact with a "diverse pool" of applicants, from which they can pre-screen for the family (p. 34, 33).

This does not mean, however, that agencies will find more candidates per se than other recruitment methods. "The best agencies--those with fine reputations, tough screening processes, and clear policies--will often have the fewest applicants to choose from" (Rice, 1987, p. 37). And indeed, according to Sweet (1987), agencies do report that "many applicants are not qualified to join their registry" (p. 33).

According to Binswanger (1986), "the agencies that came most highly recommended . . . and the ones we felt best about told us that they turned away more applicants than they represented . . . . The usual figure was one applicant accepted out of every three or four" (p. 60).

One criteria used to screen such applicants are references. A respectable agency will check references (McManus, 1987), and then attempt to make a match based on a complete profile of such things as "needs, skills, and ideas about child rearing" (Binswanger, 1986, p. 48).

According to one mother in Canada, the entire pro-

cess is "like getting married again and again and again . . . . (It) requires a lot of diplomacy" (Berton, 1986, p. 57). Perhaps this is why, as one author put it, "this is very specialized personal work, and it is important that . . . (the agency) be run by the right person able to judge character and say no" (Honeyman, 1985, p. 18).

And the agency itself, according to Binswanger (1986), is "only as good as its last placement" (p. 58). Agencies can also be judged by whether or not they belong to the Better Business Bureau (thus assuming some accountability), and, sometimes, by their fee (Rice, 1987).

Regarding the fee, Rice maintains that "if the agency has applicants of a very high quality, its fee will be higher. (This is because) it is inexpensive to refer domestic help but very costly to recruit educated professionals" (1987, p. 37).

Also a potential criteria in the judgement of quality is whether the agency is licensed and/or bonded. In an effort to protect the consumer, many states require that employment agencies be licensed by the state's department of labor (Binswanger, 1986). It

should be noted, however, that even if required by the state, an agency may bypass such a regulation if it considers itself a 'referral service', and not an employment agency per se.

The process of licensing can require few to several steps. In most states, the agency must pay a fee (generally around $150 a year) and file the necessary paperwork. This may include such documents as legal references, and the forms which will be used in the business. In some states, agencies must also post a surety bond. Such bond serves as a guardian to be forfeited if the business does not "fulfill its obligations properly" (Binswanger, 1986, p.62).

Also a measure of quality may be what the agency believes a caregiver should know. In a survey conducted by Moraine Park Technical Institute (Fond du Lac, Wisconsin), a sample of representatives from 20 agencies in 14 states were asked, among other things, to rank the importance of various types of skills to the require ments of being a nanny. Categories for response divided the answers into ranks of critical, important, or unnecessary to nannying (Fleming, 1987).

Eighty percent or more of Moraine Park's respon-

dents marked knowledge of infant and child care as being a critical nanny requirement. Only 50-80% of respondents, however, said that the ability to explain the relationship of the child's developmental stage to its environment was critical. Similarly, only 50-80% ranked it critical for the nanny to be able to explain the child's development in physical, intellectual, emotional, and social areas (Fleming, 1987).

Child developmentalists might disagree with such results, however. According to Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget, children progress in their development through a series of stages characterized by increased cognitive abilities. All children, according to Piaget, progress through such stages in the same order, and at approximately the same time chronologically (Wadsworth, 1984).

For example, the world of the infant from birth to about age two consists of a period of sensorimotor thought, in which actions undertaken physically form the basis for cognitive growth. As the child moves from two to about six, he progresses through a stage referred to as preoperational. In other words, before he can use logical operations (which occurs later), he first utilizes symbolic thought to understand the world.

Cognitive growth, for Piaget, is the result of actively manipulating the environment. By doing so, the child is able to coordinate two activities, that of organization and adaptation. In other words, the child organizes his thoughts in a way which makes sense, and and then also adapts his thinking to accomodate new information. These two processes only occur by, and are heavily rooted in, the child's daily experiences.

A good child development program, accordingly, would teach not only these stages but the ways in which they can be used to foster optimum growth for the child. Enriching activities, for example, only become so when they are geared for the child's developmental level. Similarly, with such knowledge, one can more easily gauge normal response, and, according to Marion (1987), employ reasonable disciplining strategies. Thus, it IS critical for a caregiver to understand, and be able to explain, child development.

Perhaps, then, it is easy to see why one educator, regarding Red Wing (Minnesota) Technical Institute's program asserts that "by the end (of the program) . . . students will know more about children . . . than the people who hire them" (Nancy Swanson in McAuliffe,

1988, p. 7B).

However, regardless of developmental understanding, agencies can and often do provide other sorts of important input for families. Many agencies, for example, remain active after the nanny is placed--acting as a resource for problem-solving and further negotiations (Sweet, 1987). And, according to the same source, some even may employ a social worker or nurse to assist younger or less experienced nannies.

Agency Profits

Since many agencies request an initial payment from families before beginning a search (Sweet, 1987), it is reasonable to assume that financial considerations play an important role in the placement process as well.

For those in the business, "low overhead can translate into handsome profits" (Abbott, 1986, p.89). This realization is at least in part why the industry is becoming more and more competitive, with new agencies springing up weekly.

According to one agency owner,

> I believe there are still agencies whose only concern is to make the almighty buck . . . five years from now, I think you will find fewer agencies doing bigger business. Now that people can shop around, the agencies that provide the best possible service for both their nannies and their clients will prevail: the rest will die (Linda Rogers in Abbott, 1986, p. 91).

And though they may die, it seems doubtful they will do so in poverty. One agency in Canada, for example, placed 135 nannies in its first fiscal year which, at $550 per placement translated into $74,000 (Abbott, 1986). Similarly, another agency in Washington, D.C. grossed $3.25 million in 1987, with $1 million coming from the Washington area alone (Fries, 1987).

Growth alone also yields profits. One agency owner who won an award as "Entrepreneur of the Year" reported a 380% increase in sales from year one to year two (Mining for nannies, 1986). Likewise, another agency reported growth of 22% its first year "over and above what could be considered normal . . . for a new business" (Abbott, 1986, p. 93).

Part of the reason for such accumulation of

wealth is the fact that agencies generally charge a flat fee to client families. In 1986, this ranged from a low of $400 to a high of at least $900 per placement (Binswanger, 1986). Some agencies refund the amount, at least in part, if the nanny doesn't work out; others do not.

Private nanny training schools seem to fare as well financially, too. Northwest Nannies Institute, for example, reported $15,000 in assets and a $29,000 budget in their second year of operation (1986)--all generated from an initial investment of $15,000. In 1986, they reported nine month revenues of $43,000, of which the school alone generated $35,000 (they also operate a placement agency) (Gordon, 1986).

Finding and Recruiting Nannies

Even for an agency, however, finding and recruiting nannies can be a problem. Those who screen applicants and check references carefully generally take at least six to nine weeks to make a match. Others, operating with less restrictions, make their matches more quickly.

Most agencies rely almost exclusively on classified advertisements and the yellow pages to market their services (Abbott, 1986). This is especially surprising when you consider, as mentioned earlier, how difficult it can be to find a yellow page listing. Indeed, at least one agency was surprised at its success the first year when, due to an oversight, they missed being listed (Abbott, 1986).

Other strategies employed by agencies to recruit clientele include radio spots, and, if lucky, appearances on television or radio talk shows (Dailey, et al, 1986). Also, according to the same source, growing interest in the industry has generated many newspaper feature articles--through which agencies also make contacts.

According to Charles (1987), such press is considered 'publicity' rather than 'advertising' when it is free rather than purchased. The advantage of such spots, he says, is that through (free) publicity, the agency can reach as many people as it does in ads for which it pays. Likely, many of the agencies in existence today are profiting by taking advantage of this option--an option open now more than ever as nannying

grows in popularity.

Job Expectations

Many of the nannies employed in America today are working under some sort of contract, either legally binding or not, that has been set up between the nanny and the employing family. If an agency is involved in the hiring process, it usually assists in creating such a contract.

Typically, most nannies are expected to perform duties in addition to routine child care. These may include such things as caring for the children's clothing, cleaning the children's rooms, and shopping for and preparing children's meals (Binswanger, 1986; Fleming, 1987). Occasionally, additional housework may be included, depending on family needs (Binswanger, 1986). One Colorado nanny, for example, has a job description which includes making the family beds and cooking the evening meal (Healy, 1985).

The length of the workweek varies with position as well. For nannies who live outside the home, an eight hour day is standard (Readdick, 1987). However, for

those who live in, the workday generally lasts ten to twelve hours (Binswanger, 1986; Brown, 1986; Readdick, 1987). Also, according to Brown (1986), Sunday and Monday tend to be the traditional days off for a nanny (though the reason for this is not cited).

One might also likely assume most nannies are responsible for providing and preparing developmentally appropriate activities and experiences for their charges. However, reference to such was specifically not found in any of the articles reviewed. Therefore, the degree to which this occurs and/or is expected by most employing families remains unknown.

Good Nannying

Perhaps one of the most crucial questions for those involved in the industry is the question of what is it that makes a good nanny? According to Louise Davis, principal of the Norland Nursery Training College in England, "Foremost must be (her) ability to relate to the children. (She) must insure that they are cared for in a happy, safe, and stimulating environment . . ."

(in Fleming, 1987).

And indeed, there is no reason to assume such qualities are not just as important in America. According to Magagna (1986), the ability to relate to the child is indeed of utmost important. In order to do this, she asserts, the caregiver must first be in touch with her own feelings. Having done so, she must then have time to experience the child (infants, particularly), and come to know that child's "unique emotional responses and needs" (p. 14).

Such awareness is likely akin to is referred to in child development as 'synchrony'. According to this view, interactions between child and caregiver become coordinated by a pattern of mutual response. Such coordination has been likened to "the interplay of musicians improvising a 'duet', or of dance partners executing a skilled 'choreography'" (Stern, 1977). And, as might be expected, some relationships are more adept at this than others.

According to Cohn and Tronick (1987), such responses are made on the basis of each other's emotions, gestures, and noises, particularly in the first months

of life. Thus, a nanny who is in tune with both his/her self and with the infant would be expected to create, as Magagna suggests, a more responsive environment. And, it would be assumed, such an environment would be most optimal for the child.

Similarly, in a study referred to by Bradley, et al (1989), measured aspects of a child's home environment were more strongly correlated with a child's developmental progress than were more global aspects, such as the socio-economic status of the family. As referred to by Bradley, such specific aspects included, among other items, parental responsivity. Thus, again, the suggestion is made that responsivity of the caregiver is, indeed, very important.

Another aspect of quality nanny care would certainly involve the attachment issue. As noted by Sandra Scarr (1984), "most experts agree that infants need the security of close attachment to at least one person . . . in order to grow into loving adults" (p. 18).

This may be in contrast, however, to standard nanny practices, in which short employment contracts are commonplace. According to child care consultant Mary

Ann Lee, for nannies "a good track record is about a year" (in Ehrlich, 1987). Likewise, as echoed by a Canadian mother, "they (the nannies) usually don't stay very long. That affects the children's relationship and it takes a while for them to become accustomed to someone new" (in Berton, 1986).

In summary, then, evidence suggests quality nannying would include not only an attachment formation between nanny and child, but also a sufficient time frame within which nannying occurs-- allowing time for both attachments to form and to be maintained.

Chapter III

Methodology

Study Population

The population for the study was drawn from a list of nanny placement agencies in the United States which was obtained through the career planning and placement office at the University of Wisconsin-Stout. Initial size of the list was 25 agencies, of which a random sample of 24 agencies was drawn. All agencies on the list were private, for-profit businesses, and all were operating independently of nanny training schools or institutes. Partcipation rate for the survey was 100%, with all 24 agencies contacted volunteering to participate.

Instrument

Data was obtained by administering a questionnaire developed by the author in consultation with the research advisor. The questionnaire consisted of 36

items, including a mixture of yes/no, multiple choice, and open-ended questions. Objectives of the instrument were to obtain data regarding the following: 1) Key characteristics of the agency; 2) Key characteristics of the client families with whom the agency dealt; 3) Key characteristics of the nannies hired and/or placed by the agency; 4) The relationship between the agency and its nannies and client families; 5) The fees and salaries offered by and through the agency; and 6) The educational background of the respondent. (Refer to the Appendix.)

Research Design

The study was designed in an effort to obtain data representative of a larger population. Hence, effort was made to control for confounding variables. This was done, in part, by uniform selection of respondents and careful administration of the research instrument. Additionally, an effort to control threats to the validity of the instrument was made by administering a pilot study prior to administration of the survey itself.

Data Collection Methods

Participation in the study was initiated by a telephone call made by the interviewer to each agency in the sample. The interviewer asked to speak with a "nanny placement counselor". An individual falling under such title was assumed to be representative of the individual with whom a family or potential nanny would speak when they contacted the agency. Such an individual was not assumed to be representative of the person at the agency by whom the most information about the agency was known; thus, results should be interpreted accordingly.

Upon contact, respondents were informed of the nature of the study, and given the opportunity to participate. After agreeing to participate, respondents were administered the questionnaire by the interviewer during the same telephone session. The length of time needed to complete the questionnaire varied from thirty minutes to over 65 minutes. Because of the nature of the interview method, respondents often added extraneous information, thus lengthening the time needed to complete the questionnaire.

Respondents were offered the opportunity at the outset of the survey to respond or not respond to each item as they wished. Justification for such was determined by the competitive nature of the industry itself, the depth of data requested, and the length of time respondents were already donating to the survey itself.

Clarification of specific items will be given in Chapter Four along with the results of the survey. Two items, however, are worthy of note. At the outset, respondents were asked to make two distinctions: 1) The difference between client families and applicant families; and 2) The difference between nanny applicants and nannies they hired/placed. For response purposes, respondents were requested to refer to client families (those families for whom they actually placed), as well as to nannies whom they actually hired or placed.

Data Analysis

Survey results were analyzed via computer methods. Frequency counts and percentages were obtained for each item. Because of the descriptive nature of the study,

effort was not made to assess the degree of association between variables.

Pilot Study

Prior to administration of the final survey, a pilot study was conducted in which an agency from each of the three geographical regions was contacted in a manner similar to the final method. Results obtained from the pilot study were used to refine the research instrument and to control for extraneous variables.

Limitations

Inherent in the interview method are a number of concerns which limit the reliability and generalizability of the data. As previously mentioned, it was assumed that respondents understood the meaning of survey questions, and construed each item in a similar fashion. It was assumed that respondents answered all questions honestly and to the best of their ability, and that respondents had similar perceptions of percentage answers.

Additionally, as noted by Gay (1981), the respondent "may (have been) biased and affected by his or her reaction to the interviewer, either positive(ly) or negative(ly)" (p. 166).

Chapter IV

Results and Discussion

Results

Results were obtained from agencies in 14 states including the following: Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Massachusetts, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Oregon, South Carolina, Utah, and Wisconsin. The state most frequently represented was Connecticut, with five agencies. The next most frequent was New Jersey, with four agencies represented. Of the 12 remaining states, one (Minnesota) was represented by three agencies, while four states were represented by two agencies. The remaining states were represented by one agency only.

According to regional distributions, 14 agencies, 58% were located in the eastern United States. Four agencies, 17%, were located in the midwest, and six, 25%, were located in western states. Geographical region was defined using international time zone units. Thus, 'eastern' states were any states which fell into the eastern time zone, 'midwestern' states were those which

fell under central standard time, and 'western' states were any which fell under mountain or pacific time. Because more agencies surveyed were located in eastern states, results by geographical region are skewed in that direction, and should be interpreted accordingly.

Research Question One

The first research question was to ascertain differences in key characteristics of agencies which place nannies in the United States. The research questionnaire addressed five characteristics which included the following: 1) Agency age; 2) Whether or not the agency licensed and/or bonded; 3) Type of care provided by the agency; 4) Number of placements made by the agency in 1988; and 5) Number of placements made in 1988 as compared with number of placements made in 1987.

With regard to agency age, two agencies, 8%, reported having been in operation less than one year. Ten agencies, 42%, reported having been in operation 1-2 years. Six agencies, 25%, reported having been in oper-

ation 3-5 years. Five agencies, 21%, reported having been in operation 6-10 years. One agency reported having been in operation for over ten years.

The youngest agency reported having been in operation nine months, while the oldest had been operating for "over 50 years." Effort was not made as to distinguish whether agency age referred to the date of establishment or referred to the first placement made. Presumably, agency age meant length of time from the first date of legal establishment.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported having been in operation 1-2 years. Agencies in the midwestern United States also most frequently reported having been in operation 1-2 years. For agencies in the western United States, 6-10 years was the modal response category. (See Table 1.)

Twenty-three agencies, 96%, reported being licensed. One agency, 4%, reported not being licensed. Respondents were not asked to specify the type(s) of services for which the license was issued. Twenty agencies, 83%, reported being bonded. Four agencies, 17%, reported their agency was not bonded.

Table 1

Agency Age by Geographical Region

Length of Time in Operation	East No.	%	Midwest No.	%	West No.	%	Total No.	%
Less than one year	1	4	0	0	1	4	2	8
1-2 years	7	29	3	13	0	0	10	42
3-5 years	5	21	0	0	1	4	6	25
6-10 years	1	4	0	0	4	17	5	21
Over 10 years	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	4

Seven agencies, 29%, reported providing full-time, live-in care only. Seventeen agencies, 71%, reported providing full-time, live-in care for families as well as other options. Twelve agencies, 50%, reported providing full-time, live-out care for families. Seventeen

gencies, 71%, reported providing summer care for families. Ten agencies, 42%, reported providing part-time, live-in care for families. Ten agencies, 42%, reported providing part-time, live-out care. Nine agencies, 38%, reported providing care on a temporary basis.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported summer care as options provided in addition to full-time, live-in help. Agencies in the midwestern and western United States reported providing all types of care other than temporary with equal frequency. (See Table 2.)

Three agencies, 13%, reported having made less than 25 placements in 1988 (January 1 to December 31). Four agencies, 17%, reported having made 26-50 placements in 1988. Three agencies, another 13%, reported having made 51-100 placements in 1988. Four agencies, another 17%, reported having made 101-150 placements in 1988. Two agencies, 8%, reported having made 151-200 placements in 1988, while three agencies, 13%, reported having made 201-300 placements in 1988. Zero agencies reported having made over 300 placements in 1988. Overall response to the item was 79%, with five agencies,

Table 2

Care Provided by Geographical Region

Type of Care Provided	East		Midwest		West		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Full-time, Live-in	14	58	4	17	6	25	24	100
Full-time, Live out	5	21	4	17	3	13	12	50
Summer	10	42	4	17	3	13	17	71
Part-time, Live-in	3	13	4	17	3	13	10	42
Part-time, Live out	3	13	4	17	3	13	10	42
Temporary	4	17	3	13	2	8	9	38

21%, not reporting.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported having made 101-150 placements in 1988. Agencies in the midwestern United States most frequently reported having made 26-50 placements in 1988. Agencies in the western United States most frequently reported having made 201-300 placements in 1988. (See Table 3.)

One agency, 4%, reported having made less placements in 1988 than had been made in 1987. Five agencies, 21%, reported having made about the same number of placements in 1988 as in 1987. Six agencies, 25%, reported having made somewhat more placements in 1988 than in 1987. Two agencies, 8%, reported having made about twice as many placements in 1988 as in 1987. Four agencies, 17%, reported having made more than twice as many placements in 1988 as in 1987. Overall response to the item was 75%, with six agencies, 25%, not reporting.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported having made somewhat more placements in 1988 than in 1987. Agencies in the midwestern United States most frequently reported having made more than twice as many placements in 1988 as in 1987. Modal re-

Table 3

Placements Made in 1988 by Geographical Region

Placements in 1988 (Jan 1-Dec 31)	East No.	%	Midwest No.	%	West No.	%	Total No.	%
Less than 25	2	8	0	0	1	4	3	13
26-50	2	8	2	8	0	0	4	17
51-100	2	8	1	4	0	0	3	13
101-150	3	13	0	0	1	4	4	17
151-200	2	8	0	0	0	0	2	8
201-300	1	4	0	0	2	8	3	13
Over 300	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Not reporting	2	8	1	4	2	8	5	21

sponse for agencies in the western United States was split between the categories of 'about the same' and 'about twice as many'. (See Table 4.)

Research Question Two

The second research question was to ascertain key characteristics of the families which employ nannies in the United States. Data was collected regarding the income level of client families, the number of children in client families, the ages of the children in client families, the parent by whom initial contact with the agency is made, the extent to which client families are headed by two parents (ie: both parents reside together in the home), and the extent to which both parents in a client family are employed outside of the home.

Zero agencies reported gross income level of client families to be under $75,000. Seven agencies, reported gross income level of client families to be $75,000-100,000. Ten agencies, 42%, reported gross income level of client families to be over $100,000. Seventeen agencies responded to the item, with seven

Table 4

1988 Placements Compared to 1987 by Geographical Region

1988 vs. 1987 (Jan 1-Dec 31)	East No.	East %	Midwest No.	Midwest %	West No.	West %	Total No.	Total %
Less placements in 1988	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	4
About the same in 1988	2	8	1	4	2	8	5	21
Somewhat more in 1988	5	21	0	0	1	4	6	25
About twice as many in 1988	0	0	0	0	2	8	2	8
More than twice as many in 1988	2	8	2	8	0	0	4	17
Not reporting	5	21	1	4	0	0	6	25

agencies, 29%, not reporting.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported the income level of client families to be over $100,000. Agencies in the midwestern United States also most frequently reported income level of client families to be over $100,000. Agencies in the western United States most frequently reported income level of client families to be $75,000-1000. (See Table 5.)

Three agencies, 13%, reported client families most often included one child. Twenty agencies, 83%, reported client families most often included two children. Zero agencies reported client families most often included more than two children. Overall response to the item 96%, with one agency, 4%, not reporting. 'Number of children in the family' was operationally defined to refer to the actual number of children in the family, and not necessarily the number of children for whom the nanny was to care.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported two children to be in a client family. Agencies in the midwestern United States and agencies in

Table 5

Client Family Income by Geographical Region

Income Bracket (Gross)	East No.	%	Midwest No.	%	West No.	%	Total No.	%
Under $75,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
$75,000-100,000	4	17	1	4	2	8	7	29
Over $100,000	7	29	2	8	1	4	10	42
Not reporting	3	13	1	4	3	13	7	29

the western United States also most frequently reported two children to be in a client family. (See Table 6.)

Seven agencies, 29%, reported care for infant/toddlers was more often requested than was care for preschoolers. One agency, 4%, reported care for preschoolers to be more often requested. Sixteen agencies, 67%,

Table 6

Client Family Size by Geographical Region

Number of Children in Family	East No.	%	Midwest No.	%	West No.	%	Total No.	%
1	1	4	1	4	1	4	3	13
2	12	50	3	13	5	21	20	83
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 or more	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Not reporting	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4

reported requests for infant/toddler care and care for preschoolers occurred equally often. 'Infant/toddler' and 'preschooler' were not operationally defined.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported care requests to be divided between infant/toddler and preschool age groups. Agencies in the midwestern United States most frequently reported care was most often requested for infant/toddlers. Agencies in the western United States most frequently reported care requests to be split between the age groups. (See Table 7).

Two agencies, 8%, reported initial contact to the agency was made by the mother in 50% or less of cases. Eight agencies, 33%, reported initial contact to the agency was made by the mother in 51-75% of cases. Nine agencies, 38%, reported the mother made the initial contact 76-90% of the time. Five agencies, 21%, reported the mother made the initial contact in 91-100% of cases. 'Initial contact to the agency' was operationally defined as the first phone call to the agency. Response to the item was 100%.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequent-

Table 7

Age Requests by Geographical Region

Care Requests For Infants vs. Preschool Age	East No.	%	Midwest No.	%	West No.	%	Total No.	%
Care more often requested for inf/toddlers	2	8	3	13	2	8	7	29
Care more often requested for preschoolers	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4
Care requests divide evenly between inf/ toddlers and preschoolers	11	46	1	4	4	17	16	67

ly reported initial contact was made by the mother in 76-90% of cases. Agencies in the midwestern United States most frequently reported initial contact was made by the mother in 51-75% of cases. Agencies in the western Uni-

ted States most frequently reported initial contact was made by the mother in 51-75% of cases. (See Table 8.)

Twenty-four agencies, or 100%, reported that initial contact was made to the agency by the father 50% of the time or less. (See Table 8.)

One agency, 4%, reported 50% or less of client families to be two-parent families. One agency, another 4%, reported two-parent families accounted for 51-75% of clients. Sixteen agencies, 67%, reported two-parent families to account for 76-90% of clients. Six agencies, 25%, reported 91-100% of client families were two-parent families. Response to the item was 100%. 'Two parent family' was operationally defined as a situation in which both parents lived together in the home.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported 76-90% of client families to be two-parent families. Agencies in the midwestern United States most frequently reported 76-90% of client families to be two-parent families. Agencies in the western United States reported two-parent families to account for 76-90% and 91-100% of client families with equal frequency. (See Table 9.)

Table 8

Initial Contact to Agency by Sex of Parent and Geographical Region

Initial Contact to Agency	East No.	%	Midwest No.	%	West No.	%	Total No.	%
By Mother								
50% or less	1	4	0	0	1	4	2	8
51-75%	3	13	2	8	3	13	8	33
76-90%	6	25	1	4	2	8	9	38
91-100%	4	17	1	4	0	0	5	21
By Father								
50% or less	14	58	4	17	6	25	24	100
51-75%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
76-90%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
91-100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 9

Number of Parents in the Home
by Geographical Region

Two-Parent Families	East No.	%	Midwest No.	%	West No.	%	Total No.	%
50% or less of client families	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4
51-75% of client families	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	4
76-90% of client families	10	42	3	13	3	13	16	67
91-100% of client families	3	13	0	0	3	13	6	25

One agency, 4%, reported two parents to be employed outside the home in 50% or less of cases. Three agencies, 13%, reported two parents to be employed outside the home in 51-75% of cases. Ten agencies, 42%, reported two parents to be employed outside the home in 76-90% of cases.

Nine agencies, 38%, reported both parents to be employed outside the home in 91-100% of cases. Response to the item was 96%, with one agency, 4%, not responding. 'Employment outside the home' was operationally defined to be inclusive of cottage industries. Distinction was not made between parents employed part-time and those employed full-time.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported 76-90% of client families had two parents employed outside the home. Agencies in the midwestern United States also most frequently reported 76-90% of client families had two parents employed outside the home. Agencies in the western United States most frequently reported 91-100% of client families had two parents employed outside of the home. (See Table 10.)

Research Question Three

The third research question was to ascertain differences in key characteristics of those employed as nannies in the United States. Data was collected regarding recruitment methods, applicant requirements, and other

Table 10

Parental Employment in Client Families
by Geographical Region

Both Parents Employed Outside the Home	East		Midwest		West		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
50% or less of client families	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4
51-75% of client families	2	8	0	0	1	4	3	13
76-90% of client families	6	25	3	13	1	4	10	42
91-100% of client families	4	17	1	4	4	17	9	38
Not reporting	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4

information regarding demographics.

Eighteen agencies, 75%, reported using the local newspaper for recruitment purposes. Seven agencies, 29%, reported using a regional newspaper for recruitment purposes. Nine agencies, 38%, reported using an out-of-state newspaper or newspapers for recruitment purposes.

Nine agencies, 38%, reported using recruiters on college campuses. Two agencies, 8%, reported using other types of personal recruiters.

Two agencies, 8%, reported using magazine advertisements for recruitment purposes. Fourteen agencies, 58%, reported being listed in the yellow pages of the telephone book. (Distinction was not made as to what grouping the yellow page ad was under.)

Three agencies, 13%, reported using advertisements in a college/university newspaper for recruitment purposes. Two agencies, 8%, reported using advertisements in high school newspapers for recruitment purposes.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported using a local newspaper for recruitment purposes. For agencies in the midwestern United States, local and regional newspapers were both the most fre-

quently reported recruitment method. Agencies in the western United States most frequently reported using a local newspaper for recruitment purposes. (See Table 11.)

Twenty-three agencies, 96%, reported 100% of the nannies they hire/place to be citizens of the United States. One agency, 4%, reported 10% or less of full-time nannies placed to not be citizens of the United States.

Five agencies, 21%, reported 25% or less of the nannies they hire/place to be from the midwestern United States. Four agencies, 17%, reported 26-50% of the nannies they hire/place to be from the midwestern United States. Two agencies, 8%, reported 51-75% of the nannies they hire/place to be from the midwestern United States. Eight agencies, 33%, reported 76-90% of the nannies they hire/place to be from the midwestern United States. Five agencies, 21%, reported 91-100% of the nannies they hire/place to be from the midwest. Twenty-four agencies, 100%, responded to the question. 'Midwest' was not operationally defined. Likewise, other determinants of

Table 11

Recruitment Methods by Geographical Region

Method Used	East		Midwest		West		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Local News	10	42	3	13	5	21	18	75
Regional News	2	8	3	13	2	8	7	29
Out-of-State News	6	25	2	8	1	4	9	38
College Recruiters	7	29	1	4	1	4	9	38
Other Recruiters	1	4	0	0	1	4	2	8
Magazine Ads	0	0	2	8	0	0	2	8
Yellow Pages	8	33	2	8	4	17	14	58
Other: College News	2	8	0	0	1	4	3	13
High School News	2	8	0	0	0	0	2	8

origin, such as length of years as a resident, were also not defined.

Agencies from the eastern United States most frequently reported 76-90% of the nannies they hired/placed were from the midwestern United States. Agencies from the midwestern United States most frequently reported 91-100% of the nannies they hired/placed were from the midwestern United States. Agencies from the western United States most frequently reported 25% or less of nannies they hired/placed were from the midwestern United States. (See Table 12.)

Eight agencies, 33%, reported 19-20 to most frequently be a nanny's age at the time of hire/placement. Eleven agencies, 46%, reported this age to be 21-25. Two agencies, 8%, reported this age to be 26-30. Zero agencies reported a nanny's age at the time of hire to most frequently be under 18 or over 30. Overall response to the item was 87%, with three agencies, 13%, not responding.

Agencies from the eastern United States most frequently reported 21-25 to be the most common age for a nanny at the time of hire. Agencies from the midwestern

Table 12

The Hiring of Midwestern Nannies by Geographical Region

Nannies hired from Midwest	East No.	%	Midwest No.	%	West No.	%	Total No.	%
25% or less	2	8	0	0	3	13	5	21
26-50%	2	8	0	0	2	8	4	17
51-75%	2	8	0	0	0	0	2	8
76-90%	6	25	1	4	1	4	8	33
91-100%	2	8	3	13	0	0	5	21

and western United States also most frequently reported 21-25 to be the most common age for a nanny at the time of hire. (See Table 13.)

Nineteen agencies, 79%, reported accepting applications from married individuals. Five agencies, 21%,

Table 13

Nanny Age by Geographical Region

Nanny Age at Time of Hire	East No.	%	Midwest No.	%	West No.	%	Total No.	%
18 years or under	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19-20 years	6	25	1	4	1	4	8	33
21-25 years	7	29	2	8	2	8	11	46
26-30 years	0	0	1	4	1	4	2	8
Over 30 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Not reporting	1	4	0	0	2	8	3	13

reported not accepting applications from married individuals. 'Application acceptance' was not operationally defined. Of the nineteen agencies accepting applications from married individuals, zero reported having hired or placed a married individual in 1988.

Twenty-two agencies, 92%, reported accepting applications from men. Two agencies, 8%, reported not accepting applications from men. 'Application acceptance' was not operationally defined. Of the 22 agencies accepting applications from men, seventeen reported not having place a man in 1988. Of the remaining seven, six agencies reported having placed one man in 1988. The remaining agency reported having placed "6-10" men in 1988.

Two agencies, 8%, reported two references were the minimum number required of an applicant. Twelve agencies, 50%, reported three references were the minimum. Four agencies, 17%, reported four references were the minimum, and four agencies, another 17%, reported a minimum requirement of five references or more. Two agencies, 8%, reported no minimal standard number of references required.

Seven agencies, 29%, reported applicant references were to be a list of names and phone numbers. Five agencies, 21%, reported applicant references were to be written letters of recommendation. Distinction was not made as to whether agencies which required written letters also called the reference on the telephone. Likewise, distinction was not made as to whether any types of references required were actually used.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported requiring three references from an applicant. Agencies in the eastern United States also most frequently reported the format of references was unspecified. Agencies in the midwestern United States reported 2, 3, 5 or more, and no specific number of references to be required with equal frequency. Agencies from the midwestern United States also most frequently reported the format of references to be unspecified. Agencies from the western United States most frequently reported three references were required from an applicant. Agencies from the western United States, as a group, did not favor any particular reference format. (See Table 14.)

Seventeen agencies, 71%, reported having a minimum

Table 14

Number and Type of References Required by Geographical Region

References Required	East No.	East %	Midwest No.	Midwest %	West No.	West %	Total No.	Total %
Number of Refs. Required								
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	1	4	1	4	0	0	2	8
3	7	29	1	4	4	17	12	50
4	3	13	0	0	1	4	4	17
5 or more	2	8	1	4	1	4	4	17
No standard	1	4	1	4	0	0	2	8
Type of Refs. Required								
Names/Phones	4	17	1	4	2	8	7	29
Written Letters	2	8	1	4	2	8	5	21
Unspecified Format	8	33	2	8	2	8	12	50

age requirement. Seven agencies, 29%, reported having no minimal age requirement. Of the seventeen agencies with a minimal age requirement, fifteen reported this age to be 18. One agency reported having a minimal age requirement of 19, and one agency reported having a minimal age requirement of 21.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported requiring a minimal age of 18 years prior to hire. Agencies from the midwestern United States reported an age requirement of 18 years and no minimal age requirement with equal frequency. Agencies from the western United States most frequently reported a minimal age requirement of 18 years. (See Table 15.)

Thirteen agencies, 54%, reported requiring proof citizenship before they would hire/place. Eleven agencies, 46%, reported not requiring proof of citizenship before hiring/placing.

Ten agencies, 42%, reported running a crime check on applicants as a matter of routine. Fourteen agencies, 58%, reported not routinely running a crime check on applicants. 'Crime check' was not operationally defined.

Eleven agencies, 46%, reported having no minimum

Table 15

Minimum Age Required of Nanny
by Geographical Region

Minimum Age Required For Hire	East		Midwest		West		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 18 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18 years	9	38	2	8	4	17	17	71
19 years	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	4
20 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21 years	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4
No minimum age required	4	17	2	8	1	4	7	29

educational or experiential qualifications for nannies they hire/place. Eleven agencies, 46%, reported requiring a high school degree or its equivalent only. One agency, 4%, reported requiring both a high school degree (or its equivalent) and child care experience of any nature. One agency, another 4%, reported requiring a college degree (in any field.)

Agencies from the eastern United States most frequently reported requiring their nannies to have a high school degree or its equivalent. Agencies from the eastern United States also most frequently reported having no experiential requirements for the nannies they hire/place. Agencies from the midwestern United States reported requiring a high school degree and having no educational requirement with equal frequency. Agencies from the midwestern United States also most frequently reported having no experiential requirements. Agencies from the western United States most frequently reported requiring a high school degree. Agencies from the western United States also most frequently reported having no experiential requirements. (See Table 16.)

Table 16

Educational and Experiential Requirements of Nannies by Geographical Region

Minimum Requirement	East No.	%	Midwest No.	%	West No.	%	Total No.	%
Education								
H.S. Degree or Equivalent	7	29	2	8	3	13	12	50
Post-High Study	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A.A. Degree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A.A. Degree, Child Related	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
College Degree	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4
College Degree, Child Related	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Requirement	6	25	2	8	3	13	11	46
Experience								
Child Care Exp., Any	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	4
Child Care Exp, 1-2 Years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Child Care Exp., Over 2 Years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nanny Experience	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Requirement	6	25	2	8	3	13	11	46

Research Question Four

The fourth research question was to ascertain differences in the nanny-family-agency relationship. Data was collected regarding the placement/hiring process, the terms of the work agreement, and subsequent agency interaction once the nanny is placed.

Fourteen agencies, 58%, reported the placement interview with the nanny occurred via the telephone. Two agencies, 8%, reported the placement interview was conducted in person, either via regional recruiters or by the agency. Five agencies, 21%, reported the placement interview was conducted in person by the agency only. Two agencies, 8%, reported the placement interview was conducted in person by the agency and videotaped. Response to the question was 96%, with one agency, 4%, not reporting. Further data was not collected to ascertain the degree to which those agencies using personal interviews also conducted a telephone interview as well. 'Placement interview' was construed to refer to the standard way in which the agency screened nannies for placement.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported the placement interview occurred via the telephone. Agencies in the midwestern United States also most frequently reported the placement interview occurred via the telephone. Agencies in the western United States most frequently reported the placement interview was conducted in person by the agency. (See Table 17.)

Five agencies, 5%, reported that the client family was left to decide whether or not they wished to interview the nanny candidate, either by telephone or in person. The same five agencies, 5%, reported that if the client family desired such an interview, the client family incurred related transportation costs. Four agencies, 17%, reported telephone interviews between nanny and family to be a routine part of their placement process. Four agencies, 17%, reported personal interviews between nanny and family to be a routine part of their placement process.

Four agencies, 17%, reported the nannies they hire/place to sign a legal contract upon hire. Nineteen agencies, 79%, reported that nannies they hire/place did

Table 17

Type of Nanny-Agency Interview
by Geographical Region

Type of Interview Required	East No.	%	Midwest No.	%	West No.	%	Total No.	%
Nanny-Agency:								
Phone	10	42	3	13	1	4	14	58
In-person with Recruiter or Agency	2	8	0	0	0	0	2	8
In-person by Agency	0	0	1	4	4	17	5	21
In-person and Videotaped	1	4	0	0	1	4	2	8
Not reporting	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4

not sign a legal contract upon hire. Response to the item was 96%, with one agency, 4%, not reporting. 'Legal contract' was not operationally defined.

Fourteen agencies, 58%, reported that a work agree-

ment for the nannies they hire/place was drawn upon a standardized form supplied by them. Nine agencies, 38%, reported that they did not supply a standardized form upon which work agreements were drawn. Response to the item was 96%, with one agency, 4%, not reporting.

Twenty-one agencies, 88%, reported the nannies they hire/place to be working 40 hours per week or more. One agency, 4%, reported the nannies it hired did not work over 40 hours per week. Response to the item was 92%, with two agencies, 8%, not reporting.

Seven agencies, 29%, reported visiting the home once the nanny was placed. Seventeen agencies, 71%, reported never visiting the home once the nanny was placed. Response to the item was 100%.

Nine agencies, 38%, reported having occasional contact with the nanny once placed, as initiated by the nanny. Eight agencies, 33%, reported having occasional contact with the nanny once placed, as initiated by the agency.

Six agencies, 25%, reported providing the nannies they hire/place with a list of names and telephone numbers of other nannies. Six agencies, 25%, reported of-

fering occasional get-togethers for nannies placed.

Two agencies, 8%, reported offering formal in-service training at regular intervals for the nannies they hire/place. Five agencies, 21%, reported providing a newsletter for the nannies they hire/place.

Three agencies, 13%, reported a monthly report of some kind to be standard. Twenty-two agencies, 92%, reported a report of some kind initiated after one year.

Other than yearly reports, agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported occasional get-togethers as the contact they had with nannies once placed. Agencies in the midwestern United States most frequently reported occasional contact as initiated by the agency to be the contact they had with nannies once placed. Agencies in the western United States most frequently reported occasional contact as initiated by the nanny as the contact they had with nannies once placed. (See Table 18.)

Five agencies, 21%, reported having the client family evaluate the nanny's performance. Eighteen agencies, 75%, reported they did not have client families evaluate the nanny's performance. Response to the item was 96%,

Table 18

Agency Contact With Nanny Once Placed
by Geographical Region

Type of Contact	East		Midwest		West		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Occasional, by Nanny	2	8	2	8	5	21	9	38
Occasional, by Agency	3	13	3	13	2	8	8	33
Nanny Name/Phone Network	3	13	1	4	2	8	6	25
Occasional Get-Togethers	5	21	1	4	0	0	6	25
Formal Inservice	2	8	0	0	0	0	2	8
Nanny Newsletter	4	17	1	4	0	0	5	21
Monthly Report	2	8	1	4	0	0	3	13
Yearly Report	54	50	4	17	5	21	22	92

with one agency, 4%, not reporting. Five agencies, 21%, reported having the client family evaluate the nanny's performance on a standardized form provided by the agency.

Research Question Five

The fifth research question was to ascertain differences in the fees and salaries offered by and through nanny agencies in the United States. Data was collected regarding application fees, placement fees, and nanny salary range.

Zero agencies reported requiring an application fee from the nanny candidate. Twenty-four agencies, 100%, reported requiring no application fee from the nanny candidate.

Eight agencies, 33%, reported requiring an application fee from the client family. Sixteen agencies, 67%, reported no application fee was required of the client family. 'Application fee' was operationally defined to mean a financial payment made before the nanny or family candidate would be considered for services.

One agency, 4%, reported the placement fee charged to a client family for a full-time nanny placement to be $600 or less. Four agencies, 17%, reported that placement fee to be $601-899. Six agencies, 25%, reported the placement fee to be $900-950. One agency, 4%, reported the placement fee to be $951-1000. Six agencies, 25%, reported the placement fee to be $1001-1500. One agency, 4%, reported the placement fee to be $1501-1900. Two agencies, 8%, reported the placement fee to be in excess of $1900. Response to the item was 87%, with three agencies, 13%, not reporting.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported the placement fee for a full-time nanny to be $900-950. Agencies in the midwestern United States reported placement fees of less than $600, $601-899, and $900-950 with equal frequency. Agencies in the western United States most frequently reported the full-time placement fee to be $601-899. (See Table 19.)

Two agencies, 8%, reported the salary range for the nannies they hired/placed to begin at $100-149 per week. Twelve agencies, 50%, reported the salary range for their nannies to begin at $150-199. Six agencies,

Table 19

Placement Fees by
Geographical Region

Placement Fee (Full-time)	East No.	%	Midwest No.	%	West No.	%	Total No.	%
$600 or less	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	4
$601-899	0	0	1	4	3	13	4	17
$900-950	5	21	1	4	0	0	6	25
$951-1000	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4
$1001-1500	4	17	0	0	2	8	6	25
$1501-1900	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	4
Over $1900	2	8	0	0	0	0	2	8
Not reporting	2	8	1	4	0	0	3	13

25%, reported the salary range for their nannies to begin at $200-249 per week. One agency, 4%, reported the salary range for its nannies to begin at $250-299 per week. One agency, another 4%, reported the salary range for its nannies began at $350 per week or more. Overall response to the item was 92%, with two agencies, 8%, not reporting.

Four agencies, 17%, reported the salary range for the nannies they hired/placed tended to end at $200-249 per week. Nine agencies, 38%, reported the salary range for their nannies ended at $250-299 per week. Four agencies, 17%, reported the salary range for their nannies ended at $300-349 per week. Three agencies, 13%, reported the salary range for their nannies ended at $350-399 per week. Two agencies, 8%, reported the salary range for their nannies ended at $400 per week or more. Response to the item was 92%, with two agencies, 8%, not reporting.

Agencies in the eastern United States most frequently reported nanny salaries to begin at $150-199 per week, and to end at $250-299 per week. Agencies in the mid-western United States reported nanny salaries to begin at

$150-199 and $200-249 with equal frequency. Agencies in the midwestern United States most frequently reported nanny salaries to end at $250-299 per week. Agencies in the western United States most frequently reported nanny salaries to begin at $200-249 per week, and to end at either $200-249 or $300-349. (See Table 20.)

Research Question Six

The sixth research question was to ascertain the educational background of nanny placement counselors. Data was obtained regarding the highest level of education the agency respondent had obtained.

Eight respondents, 33%, reported the highest level of education they had completed to be a high school diploma or its equivalent. Three respondents, 13%, reported their highest level of educational attainment to be an associate degree or equivalent. Two respondents, 8%, reported having "some college". Three respondents, 13%, reported having a bachelor's degree in education. These three respondents reported the education degree to be in an educational area other than early childhood.

Table 20

Nanny Salaries by
Geographical Region

Nanny Salary	East		Midwest		West		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Range begins at:								
$100-149	1	4	0	0	1	4	2	8
$150-199	9	38	2	8	1	4	12	50
$200-249	2	8	2	8	2	8	6	25
$250-299	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	4
$300-349	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
$350 or more	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4
Range ends at:								
$200-249	1	4	1	4	2	8	4	17
$250-299	5	21	3	13	1	4	9	38
$300-349	2	8	0	0	2	8	4	17
$350-399	3	13	0	0	0	0	3	13
$400 or more	2	8	0	0	0	0	2	8
Not reporting	1	4	0	0	1	4	2	8

Two respondents, 8%, reported having a bachelor's degree in business. One respondent each, 4% (17% total), reported having a bachelor's degree in the following areas: 1) Romance Languages; 2) Dance; 3) Liberal Arts; and 4) Fine Arts. One respondent, 4%, reported having a master of science degree in social work. Overall response to the item was 96%, with one respondent, 4%, not reporting. Distinction was not made as to the field of study for those with associate degrees.

Limitations of Response

Due to the depth and range of data collected, the reader is to be reminded of the descriptive nature of the study, thus limiting the nature of conclusions which can be drawn.

Modal Response Categories

Data from each response question was analyzed in an effort to ascertain the modal response category for each questionnaire item.

Analysis of data from research question one showed the following responses given most frequently: (1) agency age of 1-2 years; (2) Agency reported being bonded; (3) Agency reported being licensed; (4) All agencies providing live-in, full-time care; (5) Summer care as next most common option provided after full-time live-in care; (6) Number of placements made in 1988 either 26-50 or 101-150; and (7) Agency made somewhat more placements in 1988 than 1987.

For research question two, the following modal response categories were found: (1) Income level of client families over $100,000; (2) Number of children in client family was two (most frequently); (3) Care requests split evenly between requests for infant/toddler care and for preschoolers; (4) Initial contact to the agency made by mother as opposed to father; (5) Client families two-parent as opposed to single-headed; and (6) 70-90% of client families had two parents employed outside the

home.

For research question three, modal response categories were as follows: (1) Method of recruitment most frequently reported was the local news; (2) Nannies hired/placed were citizens of the United States; (3) 76-90% of nannies were from Midwestern United States; (4) Nanny age at time of hire was 21-25 years; (5) Applications from married individuals were accepted; (6) Applications from men were accepted; (7) A man had not been placed by the agency in 1988; (8) Three references were required of an applicant; (9) The format of the references was unspecified; (10) Nanny applicant was required to be 18 years old; (11) Proof of citizenship was required prior to placement; (12) A crime check was not routinely run on applicants; and (13) No minimal education or experience was required of a nanny OR a nanny was required to have a high school degree or its equivalent.

Modal response results from question four were as follows: (1) Placement interview occurred over the telephone; (2) Nannies did not sign a legal contract upon hire; (3) Nannies worked 40 hours per week or more;

(4) Agency did not visit the home once the nanny was placed; (5) Contact with nanny once placed was either by yearly report or, secondly, occasional, as initiated by the nanny; and (6) Agency did not have the client family evaluate the nanny's performance.

Modal response categories for question five were as follows: (1) No application fee was required of the nanny applicant; (2) No application fee was required of the client family; (3) Placement fee for a full-time live-in nanny was either $900-950 or $1001-1500; and (4) Nanny salary range began at $150-199 per week and ended at $250-299 per week.

Modal response for research question six indicated placement counselors most often reported having completed a high school degree ot its equivalent.

Discussion

While much of the available nanny literature is speculative in nature, a few correlations can be drawn nonetheless. This study affirms conclusions reached by the popular press regarding nanny popularity, character-

istics, and nanny salary range.

With regard to the popularity of nannies, results from this study indicate over 1641 nannies placed in 1988 by 19 agencies responding to the question. The extent to which this is indicative of the popularity of nannies is open to interpretation.

Nannies found in this study tended to be from the Midwestern United States, and were in their early twenties, two of several characteristics asserted by McAuliffe (1988).

And finally, nanny salary ranges were similar to those collected by Brown (1986). Salaries ranged highest in the eastern United States, and were over $350. Salaries, overall, however, were found to begin at rates lower than those collected by Brown, with lowest weekly nanny pay starting at $100.

Chapter V

Conclusions

Perhaps the most succinct statement regarding the status of the industry today can be adapted from pediatrician T. Berry Brazelton, when he stated "day care is here to stay" (A. Levine, 1987). Indeed, with regard to child care in the home, one might say "nannying is here to stay." It seems apparent that, given the numbers of families in which both parents work, that fact alone is enough to insure the continued existence of day care within the home.

The question becomes, then, what factors must be addressed in order to insure quality, safety, and enrichment in the daily experiences of the children under such care? Additionally, what must be addressed in terms of moral and legal responsibility and rights for those involved in the industry as workers and employers? What issues are critical at the present time? What factors are inherent in the system and in need of regulation?

In an effort to delineate the most obvious, discussion follows on a number of issues. These include: 1)

Questions about use of the Victorian model; 2) Concerns regarding the au pair program; 3) Curricular concerns; 4) Professional considerations; 5) Agency issues; 6) Parenting issues; 7) Nanny wages; 8) Gender issues; and 9) Other ethical issues. Views presented herein are those of the author, and, as such, should be construed accordingly.

The Victorian Model

It is somewhat surprising that although America asserted its independence from the British over two hundred years ago, Americans have nonetheless adopted a thoroughly British model for child care without much ado. American culture today is certainly even farther removed from Britain than it was in 1776. The needs, values, and patterns of living in America are all distinctly different than those which were in place when British nannying emerged. Thus, it would be argued, the needs, values, and patterns of childrearing are in need of change as well.

The concern here is not so much over the adoption of British standards per se, but failure to consider alternatives when having done so. The mere fact that one

is employed as a care provider in the home should not mean he/she needs to do so in a British fashion. Thus, popularity of the model should not be the criterion on which nannying is adopted. Rather, the needs of children should come first, with marketing addressed later.

Unfortunately, a seller's market it is. American writings on the subject are saturated with British references in both intentional and obsure ways. An article on vocational school training programs, for example, includes a picture of recent graduates, foremost among which is a young girl in a frilly dress with high neck (Neff, 1988). The picture itself spells Victorian England, and whether the reader realizes it or not, British nannying is the message sold.

The British nanny model is not just one of dress, however, but one of manner as well. Along with the stiffly starched uniform, a British nanny is, according to popular thought, stark and controlling. However, research in child guidance would decry the "stiff upper lip". According to such, children thrive best in an atmosphere of warm acceptance, coupled with firm and consistent rules (Marion, 1987).

Furthermore, it might be proposed that American students need models with which they can identify. An American child caregiver is never going to be British in thought or manner, nor should he/she need to be. What is wrong with being American? Cannot Americans be competent, capable caregivers in their own style? And indeed, isn't this the beauty of the very profession itself? Each caregiver has the potential to bring to a child his/her own unique gifts and abilities. As long as these are beneficial to the child, why must they fit into a mold?

Additionally, it has become something of a problem over the last five years to recruit nannies into training programs and/or to retain such students. Consideration needs to be given, both in the programs and the wider press that, again, an identifiable nanny model is much more likely to warrant long-term stability of training programs. One cannot and should not have to change identities to become a nanny.

In summary, then, perhaps it is time to rid nannying of the starched uniforms, the umbrellas and satchels on agency letterheads, and, most importantly, the author-

itarian style of caregiving.

Au Pair Concerns

A few concerns over the au pair program are worth mentioning within the context of nanny discussions. Foremost is the fact that, for all its shortcomings, the nanny industry is to be commended if, for nothing else, its attempts to train and educate workers. This is something the au pair program has obviously neglected to do.

It is interesting to note that au pairs and nannies seem to be doing identical jobs in this country-- that is, caring for children. Yet, the USIA is willing to allow workers to do so with no minimum training. While this is true of the nanny industry as well, at least there is an ideology that nannies should be trained. Does the USIA have no consideration for kids? How can attention be so focused on the experience the au pair has, and yet be so neglectful of the child? The child is the one without a voice here--should not his/her needs come first?

And secondly, even given the overemphasis on providing an "enriching experiences" to au pairs, it is

nonetheless amazing this program has been left so unaccountable. A family which needs 30 hours or more of care each week is very unlikely to have time and energy left over to donate to their new "family member". Thus, one can only assume that not much "cultural enrichment" is actually taking place-- unless "cultural enrichment" is defined as the day-to-day workings of American household domesticity.

And even if one supposes, for the sake of argument, that the host family makes a real effort toward cultural exchange, how much energy would an au pair have left to contribute? Thirty hours of child care is an enormous task, especially for someone who has never cared for children before and additionally, has no training. Add to that the fact that the au pair is in a new country with few, if any, friends or colleagues, and you have an occupation which must, at best, be very frustrating. Now. . . what about the children?

Curricular Concerns

Curricular concerns in the nanny field center

around several key points. Included among these are such concerns as program content, the method and place of training, and the reasons for which such training occurs.

With regard to program content, as stated earlier, there exist a wide variety of types and kinds of courses offered within nanny programs. From this fact alone, it can be concluded that (a) further discussion is necessary among trainers and educators in order to reach consensus about true nanny needs; and (b) that, obviously, nannies are entering the field from a diverse set of educational backgrounds. This last point is particularly troublesome in terms of public perception. Consumers, finding only a minority of "trained" nannies from which to choose, are likely to assume any "trained" nanny might suffice. However, given no regulations governing the programs, a "trained" nanny could conceivably know very little of anything of importance.

One area in which this is evident is the inclusion in many of the programs of courses on etiquette and homemaking skills. While perhaps necessary to make the nanny presentable to the general public, this is nonetheless a pejorative view, and a course whose justification for in-

clusion is sketchy at best.

The first concern about a course in etiquette and/or homemaking skills is that such material would be hard to present in a way which challenges students to move to higher levels of thinking. Even if the goal of the program is "hands-on" knowledge, shouldn't educators nonetheless be accountable for incorporating broader goals into any program? Without such, can an educator really justify the program's existence?

Secondly, such a curriculum reduces nanny training to a finishing school approach, thereby de-emphasizing the importance of the child. While a nanny may indeed have occasion to eat with the client family and thereby utilize the proper methods of employing spoon and fork, his/her first priority should be the child. Modeling has value, but interactive skills are much more important. Thus, are not classes emphasizing interactive abilities much more important?

According to child developmentalists, fair and reasonable expectations for behavior can only be created when one considers the developmental stage of the child (Marion, 1987). A child of two who is just beginning to understand

object relations, and/or a child of three who is just beginning to be able to manipulate scissors, cannot be expected to remove the salad fork from the inside of the silverware arrangement and hold it in the proper position. Similarly, is it necessary to expect these children to sit up straight, greet elders appropriately, or draft proper correspondence? If not, why must nanny training include such? Remember, nanny is to be a child care specialist, NOT a household manager. Perhaps if such programs desire to address these issues, they should be training PARENTS to adjust rather than NANNIES.

Another example of concern regarding course content has to do with the relative lack of programs offering a specific course in child guidance. This is particularly of concern given the fact that nannies themselves are able to identify guidance techniques as a major necessity. At the Community College of Allegheny County (Pennsylvania), for example, "most . . . students perceive that their greatest competency need is discipline strategies for both children and adolescent charges" (Dailey, et al, 1986, p.21). One might wonder why, if students are able to identify this training need, why aren't educators?

A second major area of debate regarding nanny curricula centers around the proper method and place of training. Two concerns are particularly in need of address: (1) The degree to which training programs should be regulated, and how to regulate them; and (2) Whether or not standardization should exist.

With regard to regulation, several educators and others have recently publicized a drive for certification. That is, some sort of certificate in which nannies can be identified as having obtained a minimal number of requirements. However, perhaps this notion is approaching the problem from the wrong end. If there are no regulations governing training programs, the mere fact of a nanny having completed one will do nothing to increase his/her caregiving ability.

Similarly, if regulation is to exist, how should it be implemented? The American Council of Nanny Schools, for example, has taken it upon themselves to form an accreditation process from their point of view. And while this is commendable in terms of making an effort toward accountability, is it the optimal way to proceed? Are

ACNS members acting without self-interest? Are they addressing true nanny needs? Is the accreditation process in itself of importance?

A third, related global curricular issue is that of the reasons behind nanny training programs. One can only assume that, given the disparity of programs in existence, there is a similar disparity of reasons for their existence. When profit is the bottom line, is quality of training sacrificied? If so, will accreditation really help?

Two and four year institutions are held accountable by not only government and private regulations, but also by the fact that their staff are trained at, likewise, accountable institutions. Therefore, is the quality of a child guidance course taught by a degreed professional equal to that taught by an untrained individual? Likely not.

And finally, perhaps it is not even necessary to standardize nanny training. Some in the field have also postulated this-- that there might exist for nannies the same types of training background identifiers as exist for other child care workers. Thus, one might have an

associate degree, a four year degree, or a simple 40-hour course in basic child care techniques. The key point, however, in the choices currently available to general child care workers, is that, in many states, even the 40-hour course requirement must occur in a state approved training facility. Thus, training is monitored (if indirectly) by the state, and not by parties with a vested interest.

Professional Considerations

Certainly another issue surrounding nannying as it emerges in the United States is whether and to what extent these child care workers are being treated as professionals. And, additionally, if professionalism is not a hallmark of the industry now, then how might it be incorporated as nannying expands into the future?

Radomski (1986), in an article which addressed the professionalization of early childhood educators, outlined 14 items to be developed in the movement toward professionalism. Among those included were: 1) mastery of theoretical knowledge (by members), 2) practi-

cal knowledge, 3) efforts toward self-enhancement, 4) formal training, 5) credentialing, 6) legal reinforcement, 7) public acceptance, and 8) ethical practice.

The extent to which any of these issues have been addessed is still in question. Given the foregoing discussion on curriculum, it could be assumed that mastery of theoretical knowledge, practical knowledge, formal training, and credentialing are minimal in the field at best. However, these minimal efforts seem to be the only movement toward professionalization of nannying that has even occurred. And, at the other end, professionalization in terms of public acceptance is actually working from a deficit model. That is, public acceptance of nannying exists only in terms of a view of a profession far removed from reality.

In particular, certain areas of nannying seem to be at the forefront of the professionalization issue. These include such things as: (a) the expectation of a nanny in uniform; (b) the degree of separation of public and private domains; (c) terminology issues; (d) labor expectations; and (e) use of an interventionist approach

in creating, discussing, and advancing the profession.

The first of these professional issues is whether or not a nanny ought to be in uniform. Even without citing research on the history and use of uniforms, it is evident that uniform use has all sorts of social and political implications.

For instance, the perception of the role of one in a uniform is of concern. One tends to assume those in uniform are related to a particular class of people who also wear similar uniforms. For nannies, unfortunately, this related class includes waitresses, motel/hotel housekeepers, and other domestic servants. All of the above can be found in a simple frock reminiscent of what we expect of nannies. Thus, nannies in such are likely to be perceived of as belonging to a group of workers who, though perhaps skilled, are nonetheless uneducated.

Similarly, it seems that in cases such as the above, the uniformed nanny might also be ascribed secondary, rather than primary, importance. Wearing a uniform reinforces the idea that one is following orders, rather than making decisions for oneself. In an industry already overburdened with a lack of respect and autonomy for

workers, anything reinforcing the perception of subservience is to be questioned.

Thirdly, the uniform issue also exemplifies the larger concern of the nanny's exact role within the family. Consider for instance, the following excerpt from McManus (1987): "The outfit, which has become NANI'S semi-official uniform, is simple: A pinafore over a white blouse. Grads whose employers prefer them in uniform can order (the) . . . pattern through the school" (p. 40).

Concern here is over who is making what decisions. If a nanny is to be in uniform, should it not be his/her choice? Indeed, perhaps some nannies will feel more comfortable in a uniformed and/or subordinate role, but it needs to be the nanny who makes that decision, not the family. This underlying assumption that the family should have all the power just further illustrates the lack of professional autonomy given nannies thus far.

Accordingly, such lack of autonomy obviously severely limits a nanny's role within the family. A person in uniform is definitely not a family member. This is good, since a nanny is <u>not</u> a family member. How-

ever, a nanny is also not a servant. Thus, although some role needs to be defined for the nanny, a uniform is not necessarily needed to facilitate that process. And from a child's point of view, that role is much more likely to be defined through actions and behavior than a uniform anyway.

Also inherent in the uniform issue is its reference to the British model. For years, nannies in England have been found in uniform. However, as previously mentioned, the English model is one from which we need to remove ourselves. And, in particular, the English nursing model is one from which escape is really needed. Thus, the use of a pinafore over a white blouse, for example, is not particularly helpful-- since the United States this is also the attire worn by candy-stripers and other "junior" hospital volunteers.

And finally, it seems obvious that to expect nannies to wear uniforms is ridiculous in terms of practicality. For anyone spending time with children, the ability to get down on one's hands and knees and crawl-- much less get dirty-- is of utmost importance. Could a nanny do this in a dress? One author agreed, at least in part: "They,

(the old starched uniforms) are too impractical, taking on the look of a painter's palette after ten minutes with a toddler" (Geist, 1985, p. 54).

An additional question is whether or not a nanny caring for kids all day would have time and energy left over to wash and iron a uniform. Wouldn't his/her time be better spent balancing out a personal life, or preparing child-related activities?

A second specific professional concern is the degree to which nannies are allowed autonomous lives. Traditionally, the live-in nanny enjoyed little in the way of separation of professional and private lives. Living with a family, the nanny has been expected to adhere to family standards concerning all manners of private lifestyle.

While this was perhaps functional in large, isolated estates which were relatively inaccessible, the degree to which sanctions on personal life are necessary today remains in question. Specifically, is it really necessary for nannies to live with families today? Certainly such workers could come to the house from their own homes while still being available for late evening and early

morning care. And if the services needed of a nanny extend beyond such a time frame, should not an additional child care worker be hired anyway? Certainly it is interesting to note that in most other professions, unions and other organizations have taken action to insure one's private life is not a criterion upon which one's work life is judged in any way.

A third specific professional concern regards the use of the term "nanny". Given the extent to which this term is associated with the British model per se, perhaps it would be helpful to have a continued, concerted effort to refer to such professionals as "child care workers" or "in-home child care specialists". Doing so would not only help promote professionalism per se, but, additionally, also help promote the perception of child needs rather than a household/housework profession.

A fourth specific professional concern is the obvious question of exactly what today's nannies should be expected to do. The most basic question is why child care and housework have continued to be lumped together. Even the agencies in this study made no mention as to the fact that this was perhaps odd. Are chauffeurs expected to do

laundry? If not, then why nannies?

Likewise, although not specifically addressed in the literature, it might be inferred that such workers would be suffering from what is commonly termed in the child care industry "burnout". This encompassing term is used to describe the stress created by the gradual increasing burden formed by poor working conditions. For nannies, this would likely include such things as the isolation of the job, long and demanding hours, and little, if any, quality private time. Certainly a future need might be for analysis of such conditions as they contrast to other standardized professions, both within and outside of the child care industry.

And finally, an additional concern regards the use of what is best described as an interventionist approach by those involved in the industry today. Such an approach seems to be in use by not only agency representatives, but by lay persons and writers for the popular press as well.

Consider, for example, a quote describing characteristics of nanny students: "Some of them are likely to be nannies for a couple of years and then either get married or go to college . . ." (Sue Dressel in McManus, 1987, p.

38). Inherent in this statement is not only the assumption that nannying will not be a permanent career, but also the pejorative view that the other two options (for a woman, mind you) are either to marry or go to college. One might wonder how a training program can justify its tuition if it at the same time inherently admits to merely being a "passing phase" in a person's life.

Another striking example of such an interventionist approach is the plan in place at some agencies whereby a nanny is required to relinquish a certain amount of savings each month to his/her agency-controlled "savings plan". Although the nanny receives the money at the end of the enforced savings era, such an approach may be termed interventionist at best. Such an approach not only assumes helplessness on the part of the nanny, but also effectively reduces the need for responsibility and accountability on the part of the agency. An agency operating with such a plan is able to flaunt the plan as a way in which their nannies are "helped", rather than addressing the real issues at hand-- such as burnout and mis-matches which would cause a nanny to break contract and need the savings in the first place.

Agency Issues

Concerns surrounding nanny agencies center around three major areas. These include the profit motive, daily operation of the agencies themselves, and the lack of regulation of any sort.

With regard to the profit motive, it is obvious that any institution operating on a for-profit basis will have different priorities than it might if not operating for-profit. Given the forgoing study, it might be fair to assume such priorities currently lie in areas other than child welfare for most agencies. Certainly an agency which places a caregiver in a home without insuring that the caregiver and family have at least met, is doing little, if anything, to advocate quality care for the child.

Secondly, the foregoing study raised further questions about the day-to-day operations of such businesses in general. In a typical scenario, the agency telephone was answered by a female with child voices in the background. This again raises the question of the quality of the match that is generally made-- since such agency

workers are obviously distracted by the attention needed by their own children. In addition, it is of concern how such an agency representative could be advocating quality one-on-one child care in the home, while at the same time utilizing a different arrangement for her own children.

And finally, the lack of regulation of such agencies is definitely of concern. For one thing, it could be argued that the difference here between an employment agency and a nanny agency is the potential for exploitation. Employment agencies, governed by somewhat consistent and firm codes, are thereby accountable as to what types of services they may offer and how they may do so. Nanny agencies, on the other hand, have few, if any, regulations with which they must comply. Thus, it is conceivable that an agency could collect any of a number of placement fees without, effectively, making an effort to promote success on the part of the worker.

Likewise, the lack of regulations governing agencies affects consumers as well. It is interesting to note that the average placement fee, about $950, would pay for two-and-a-half months in a typical center. Yet, however, parents seem willing to pay this amount over and

above the nanny care cost itself. Thus, it is surprising that parents themselves don't seem to voice concern over the accountability (or lack of it) for which they are paying.

Nanny Wages

Concern regarding nanny wages is general and quite obvious. One point of view for parents is that the more children for which care is needed, the better the bargain a nanny is. While this may be true in monetary terms alone, such a view fails to account for the toll increased role expectations have on the child care worker. Certainly one issue for future discussion might be whether or not nanny wages should differentiate between varied job expectations. A job caring for triplets, for example, is likely much different than one in which care is given to an only child.

Additionally, effort must be made to provide for all workers in America, nannies included, at least minimum wage. Enforcement of existing labor regulations must be advocated in order to insure elimination of conditions re-

sembling slave labor.

And finally, public perception in this area, as in most nanny areas, is in need of change as well. In one article referencing a nanny agency, for example, it was stated, "They (the agency owners) took small salaries of about $15,000 each and used the rest to fund the franchise program. . ." (Day-care dilemma?, 1985, p.28). Yet typical nanny salaries at this same agency started at $9000, though that figure was not noted as "small".

Gender Issues

Gender bias in the nanny industry is so commonplace that specific concerns are too numerous to mention. A few, however, stand out as particularly in need of address. These include agency nomenclature, references to nannies in the popular press, and, as with other issues, a failure to address the real needs of children.

Concerning nomenclature, the names of agencies in existence include everything from the silly to the absurd. Consider, for instance, such names as "Rent-a-mom", "Mom's Helpers", and "Mothers in Deed". Aside from implying

that child care is a mother's responsibility, such names also do nothing to advance other areas of gender equality. One is left wondering what services an agency would supposed to be offering if it was called "Rent-a-dad"?

Secondly, writers for the popular press seem to have made little effort to promote gender equality either. According to one source, for example, "there are a number of reliable methods you can use to select your child's 'second mother'" (McManus, 1987, p.38). Such writers would do well to remember the search is for a caregiver who can provide an optimal environment for the child, and not, necessarily, for a mother.

And finally, emphasis on the popularity of women as nannies only further serves to de-emphasize the real needs of the child. One must not assume that any woman will have the nurturing needs a particular child requires. Parents, specifically, may be operating under the mistaken assumption that any female hired will be affectionate toward their child. Gender has little to do with it.

Other Ethical Issues

Other ethical issues of note regarding the nanny industry include the following: (a) The licensing/certification question, (b) The potential for abuse and maltreatment by both nanny and client family, (c) The issue of modeling appropriate interaction for the child, and (d) parenting issues.

With regard to the licensing/certification issue, as mentioned before, some within the industry have proposed at least a minimal certification program for nanny workers. According to Barbara Lukas, a nanny instructor, "only a national certification can cancel out pretenders to the title of nanny" (in Mitchard, 1987, p. 2D). The problem inherent in such a statement, however, is that the "title of nanny" has yet to be precisely defined. Until agreement is reached regarding fair and equitable role expectations, the myriad varieties of nanny jobs will continue to exist. Thus, is it not rather pointless to certify one worker to perform one kind of job, while giving another worker the same certification to perform something quite different?

Similarly, as noted by psychologist Carollee Howes, "a license doesn't guarantee quality" (in Art Levine, 1987, p. 74). Although the statement was meant to refer to family day care homes, one might certainly argue the statement is just as applicable to nannies. Thus, if licensing is to occur, it must exist for purposes other than quality control.

A second ethical issue regards the potential for abuse and maltreatment in the nanny-family relationship. This potential exists for both nannies and families. According to Zweig (1989), both "child welfare groups and parent organizations say that it is highly unusual for nannies . . .to be accused of violence or dishonesty" (p. 318). One might assume, however, that the reason for this is mere luck. Given the lack of regulation of any sort, the fact that a nanny's work is usual performed in isolation, and the fact that few, if any, agencies ever make home visits, it is obvious that a nanny would be hard pressed to defend his/herself should charges arise.

Likewise, it is of concern that, from a family perspective, little, if anything, maybe known about what is

occurring in the home each day. Although not included in the data collected in this study, the extent to which nanny agencies advocate parental awareness and unannounced visits (to their own home) is certainly in question. Without performing such, parents leave themselves wide open for the potential mistreatment of their children.

A third ethical issue concerns modeling. Children learn quickly and effectively by observation. Therefore, it is of importance for those involved in the industry to examine what they are modeling for children and how they are doing so. Consider, for example, the importance of parent-nanny rapport. A child observing this would be more likely to establish rapport with his/her nanny than a child not observing such rapport.

Likewise, other modeling issues need to be examined as well. For example, to what extent is the nanny modeling traditional sex-role stereotyping? To what extent are those fathers who are uninvolved in the nanny relationship also nodeling sex-role stereotypes? Additionally, are the children observing slaves? What efforts have been made to control for this?

And finally, another ethical issue concerns the role and practices of parents in client families. Consider, for example, the stress placed upon a father or mother who, after working a full day, comes home to act as both parent to his/her own child, and "surrogate" parent to the nanny live-in. Perhaps, then, this is another justifcation for advocating a live-out profession.

Also of concern is the role of expectations set up by the family for the nanny worker. When housework and child care are lumped together at salaries, per hour, of less than minimum wage, one is left wondering how many of the moms and dads would take their own jobs? If the expectations, rewards, and conditions of the job would not seem fair to you, how (and why) can you offer them to someone else? And, even if the job does seem fair, or "equitable", to oneself, can one expect as much of others as one does of oneself?

A few researchers have mentioned that child care and housework have been performed together in conditions similar to nannying for many years. Mothers, they say, have been doing these tasks for years. However, the

critical difference here is that mothers (or fathers) have performed such duties by (relative) choice. When a person hires someone else to perform a task, it then becomes a work contract. And, it might be argued, a work contract is different from voluntary employment and should fall under standard labor regulations.

Conclusion

Among the most salient features of this study, one issue stood out as an overriding and shockingly common theme. And that is the idea that in America, at least, people seemingly go through more detail to obtain a date than they do to choose a nanny. This is inferred from the typical requirements made of agencies from both nanny applicants and client families.

Consider, for example, that for approximately the same price, a dating agency (one which matches romantic partners) will rountinely give one a videotaped interview to examine, along with creating a videotape of the seeking party. Following videotaped screening, it is assumed, two partners then meet face-to-face deciding whether or not

the relationship will continue any farther. This process is in sharp contrast, as illustrated by the foregoing study, to typical nanny placements in which videotapes, at the very least, are seldom, if ever, used. Are children any less important?

And whether for genuine lack of concern or sheer lack of time, it is shockingly apparent that few, if any, nannies, families, and agencies are able and/or willing to expend the time, money, and effort needed to make the proper match optimal for the welfare of the child. Unfortunately, then, this leads me to agree with Ed Levine, who concluded:

> To the extent that a society's character is determined by the quality of the concern that parents show for raising their children properly, then ours may become known as the society that finally validated Marx's contention that the tie most binding human beings together in the age of industrialization is the cash nexus. Middle-class parents, at least would be hard pressed to disprove this (1987, p. 454).

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Appendix

Survey Instrument

PART ONE: YOUR AGENCY

1. Contact Person _____

   Address _____

   _____

   Phone _____

2. How long has your agency been in operation?

   ____ Less than 1 year
   ____ 1-2 years
   ____ 3-5 years
   ____ 6-10 years
   ____ Over 10 years

3. Is your agency bonded?
   ____ Yes
   ____ No

   Is your agency licensed?
   ____ Yes
   ____ No

4. What type(s) of nanny care do you provide for families? (Check all that apply)

   ____ Full-time, Live-in
   ____ Full-time, Live out
   ____ Summer care
   ____ Part-time, Live-in
   ____ Part-time, Live out
   ____ Temporary care

5. What is the estimated number of placements you made in 1988, January 1 to December 31? (Full-time nannies only)

   ____ Less than 25
   ____ 26 to 50
   ____ 51 to 100
   ____ 101 to 150
   ____ 151 to 200
   ____ 201 to 300
   ____ Over 300

6. Compared to 1987 (January 1 to December 31), in 1988 (January 1 to December 31) did you make:
(Full-time nannies only)

____ Less placements

____ About the same number of placements

____ Somewhat more placements

____ About twice as many placements

____ More than twice as many placements

PART TWO: YOUR EMPLOYING FAMILIES

7. Into what (gross) income bracket would most of your client families fall?

____ Under $75,000

____ $ 75,000 - 100,000

____ Over $100,000

8. How many children are most frequently found in a family requesting care?

____ 1 ____ 3 ____ 5 or more
____ 2 ____ 4

9. Is care more often requested for infant/toddlers or for preschoolers?

_____ Care more often requested for infant/toddlers

_____ Care more often requested for preschoolers

_____ Care requests evenly split between these two ages

_____ Other

10. What percentage of the time is initial contact to the agency made by the mother?
(The first phone call to the agency)

____ 50% of the time or less
____ 51 to 75%
____ 76 to 90%
____ 91 to 100%

11. What percentage of the time is initial contact to the agency made by the father?
(The first phone call to the agency)

____ 50% of the time or less
____ 51 to 75%
____ 76 to 90%
____ 91 to 100%

12. What percentage of your client families are two-parent families, where two parents are living together in the home?

____ 50% or less are two-parent families

____ 51-75% are two-parent families

____ 76-90% are two-parent families

____ 91-100% are two-parent families

13. In what percentage of your client families are both parents employed outside the home?
(Cottage industries excluded)

____ 50% or less are dual-worker families

____ 51-75% are dual-worker families

____ 76-90% are dual-worker families

____ 91-100% are dual-worker families

PART THREE: YOUR NANNIES

14. In which of the following ways do you find your nannies? (Check all that apply)

____ Local newspaper
____ Regional newspaper
____ Newspaper out-of-state
____ College campus recruitments
____ Other Recruiters
____ Magazine ads
____ Yellow pages
____ Other

15. What percentage of the nannies you hire (or place) are not citizens of the United States? (Full-time nannies only)

____ 10% or less
____ 11-25%
____ 26-50%
____ 51-75%
____ 76-90%
____ 91-100%

16. What percentage of the nannies you hire (or place) are from the midwest? (Full-time nannies only)

____ 10% or less
____ 11-25%
____ 26-50%
____ 51-75%
____ 76-90%
____ 91-100%

17. Of the nannies you hire (or place), what is the most frequent age at the time of hire? (Full-time nannies only)

____ 18 or under
____ 19-20
____ 21-25
____ 26-30
____ Over 30
____ Other

18. Do you accept applications from married applicants?

____ Yes
____ No

If yes, how many did you hire/place in 1988?

19. Do you accept applications from men?

____ Yes
____ No

If yes, how many did you hire/place in 1988?

20. How many references do you require from an applicant? (Minimum number, of any nature)

____ None
____ 1
____ 2
____ 3
____ 4
____ 5 or more
____ No standard number

21. Of the references listed above, what is their nature?

____ List of names and phone numbers
____ Written letters of recommendation
____ Either letters or phone numbers
____ Other

22. Do you have a minimum age requirement?

____ Yes
____ No

If so, what is it?

23. Do you require proof of citizenship before you hire or place?

____ Yes
____ No

24. Do you routinely run a crime check on your applicants?

____ Yes
____ No

25. What are the minimum qualifications necessary to be hired as a nanny through your agency?
(Check all that apply)

____ High School Degree or equivalent
____ Any post-high school study
____ Associate degree
____ Associate degree in child related field
____ College degree
____ College degree in child related field

____ Experience in child care, any
____ Experience in child care, 1-2 years
____ Experience in child care, over 2 years
____ Experience as a nanny
____ Other

PART FOUR: YOUR AGENCY-NANNY RELATIONSHIP

26. Describe the process through which a nanny is hired:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

27. Do your nannies sign a legal contract upon hire?

____ Yes
____ No

28. Of the nannies you hire/place, how many hours per week are they most commonly working? (Full-time nannies only)

____ Under 40 hours per week
____ 40 hours per week or more

29. Does your agency ever visit the home once the nanny is placed?

____ Yes
____ No

30. Once placed, what kind of interaction occurs between the nanny and your agency? (Please describe)

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

31. Does your agency request client families to evaluate the nanny's performance?

____ Yes
____ No

If evaluation occurs, what is its nature?

____ Standardized form supplied by agency
____ Written letter of evaluation (open form)
____ Phone report to agency
____ Personal interview with agency
____ Other

PART FIVE: YOUR FINANCES

32. Do you require an application fee from the nanny candidate?

____ Yes
____ No

If yes, please specify amount:_____

33. Do you require an application fee (in advance of placement) from the client family?

____ Yes
____ No

If yes, please specify amount_____

34. What is your placement fee? _____
(Full-time nannies only)

35. What is the salary range a nanny can expect going out from your agency? _____

PART SIX: YOUR EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

36. What is your highest level of educational attainment?

____ High School Degree or Equivalent
____ Associate Degree
____ Some College

Bachelor's Degree:
____ Child development or related
____ Nursing
____ Social Work
____ Education
____ Business
____ Other

Master's Degree:
____ Child development or related
____ Nursing
____ Social Work
____ Education
____ Business
____ Other

____ Ph.D.
____ Other